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BOOK NOTES

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

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HERBERT SPENCER'S THREE SOCIOLOGIES *

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Herbert Spencer's was an experimental rather than a consistent mind. At times he insisted that society is a unity rather than a multiplicity; at other times he took the view that society is a multiplicity rather than a unity; and sometimes he taught that society is initially a multiplicity, but a multiplicity with an inherent tendency to develop into a unity. "The Principles of Sociology" propagate the first theory; "The Man versus *the State" the second; "The Principles of Psychology" the third. It was this third doctrine which had the greatest influence on sociology because it inspired Sumner's folkway concept.*

ALL of us are agreed that consistency is a very great virtue in a sociologist—a virtue as indispensable to him as it is to any other scholar or scientist. Yet it can happen once in a hundred years that a sociologist deserves to be called great, not because he is consistent, not because he embraces a certain principle of interpretation and analysis and drives it forward to its ultimate conclusions, but, on the contrary, because he tries a number of possible approaches and moves with an open mind along several different avenues. This precisely is the case of Herbert Spencer. Unlike Le Play, unlike Durkheim, unlike so many others that could be named, he has left behind no integrated school, no sons, as it were, to perpetuate his name. But in a sense we all belong to his family.

It is, I think, obvious that in the last analysis there are, and there can be, only three basic types of sociological theory. A society is, by definition, at the same time both a unity and a multiplicity, and for this reason the theoretician can either take the view that it is a unity rather than a multiplicity, that it is one rather than many; or he can take the view that it is a multiplicity rather than a unity, that it is many rather than one; or, finally, he can regard it as initially a multiplicity, but a multiplicity which tends to develop into a unity, which, through the operation of an inner life-principle, achieves increasing integration. It is the characteristic weakness and the characteristic strength of Spencer that he entertained all three opinions at the same time.

"PRINCIPLES OF SOCIOLOGY"

The first alternative, the alternative which puts the emphasis on the essential unity of the social whole, has classically been formulated by saying that society is an organism, and Spencer, in his "Principles of Sociology," makes himself the conscious exponent of this organismic, quasi-biological conception. If there is any difference between him and his predecessors it is this: he gives to the basic equation between society and organism a narrower, that is to say, less metaphorical, more literal meaning. A society *is* an organism, he maintains, because it obeys all the laws of structure, function and development which are characteristic, and which are constitutive, of organic life.

The core of Spencer's exposition is the second part of the first volume, entitled "The Inductions of Sociology," and here he immediately raises the question: what is a society?

* This paper was originally read to the American Sociological Association's Spencer "Centenary Meeting" within the framework of the fifty-fifth annual meeting in New York City on the evening of August 26, 1960.

Two answers, he replies, are possible. "It may be said," he writes, "that a society is but a collective name for a number of individuals. Carrying the controversy between nominalism and realism into another sphere, a nominalist might affirm that just as there exist only the members of a species, while the species considered apart from them has no existence; so the units of a society alone exist, while the existence of the society is but verbal." [1] This nominalism, this definition of society as a multiplicity, this insistence that society is in the last analysis merely a word, a linguistic fiction, appears to him entirely erroneous. No, we must plump for the other alternative. We must say that society is an entity, a tangible reality, and only if we take this view are we in accord with the facts. It is interesting to note that Spencer is not satisfied at this point where the theoretical issue is considered, with saying that society is a unity in the sense in which the human body is a unity. To drive home his point, he uses an even stronger simile. He compares society to a house. It is true that a house is built of individual bricks, but what is left of the individuality of these bricks once the house has been built? Surely the dominant reality is now the reality of the whole. In his anxiety that nobody should misunderstand him, that nobody should suspect him of nominalism, overt or covert, Spencer goes so far here as to define society as a thing. "The constant relations among its parts," he writes, "make it an entity," and "it is this trait which yields," and ought to yield, "our idea of a society." [2]

Of course, after having risen to these metaphysical heights, Spencer has to come down to a somewhat more sober level, and in the next paragraph he introduces the definition with which he then works throughout "The Inductions of Sociology"—the definition of society as an organism. Every single paragraph that now follows, with only one lone exception, presents a proof, or rather fancied proof, for the assertion that the co-operation of men in society is of the same nature (the word nature taken in a strict, scientific sense) as the cooperation of organs in the body physical. Turning Spencer's pages, one is constantly struck by two things: his ingenuity and his irrationality. Only a supremely ingenious man could have discovered so many parallels between social structure and social function on the one hand, physical structure and physical function on the other. And only a supremely irrational man could have taken the matter to such lengths. Sometimes, it must be confessed, Spencer's comparisons are more than strained. To give only one example: when a society goes over from road transport to rail transport, it achieves, he says, a decisive step forward in the career of evolution. It ceases to be "a cold-blooded creature with feeble circulation" and turns into "a warm-blooded creature with efficient vascular system." [3] The same happens when the electric telegraph is introduced. "Rudimentary nerves" become "a developed nervous apparatus." This last piece of fancy is particularly revealing. It shows that a good deal of Spencer's argument is merely verbal —merely a bad kind of poetry, I should almost say. What have the nerves within us in common with the telegraph wires outside us? They are both "internuncial agencies," Spencer says.[4] Alas! "Internuncial agency" is merely a word which shams identity where in reality there is contrast—at any rate more contrast than identity. Philosophers have in recent years opened our eyes wide to the pitfalls of language. We could never blame them if they made an example of Herbert Spencer —an example and a warning!

However, there are a few contexts in which the real issue is not complicated and covered up by a problematic form of verbal presentation, and they show us better than any other how deeply Spencer appears to have committed himself to the definition of society as a unity rather than a multiplicity. Most people would say that there is at least one process in social life which goes to show that a society is a multiplicity rather than a unity, namely the process of competition. In competition, man stands against man, interest against interest, and will against will. Cooperation, when it comes, will be the result of compromises, of contracts; it will be sec-

[1] *Synthetic Philosophy of Herbert Spencer, The Principles of Sociology,* vol. I/2. Westminster Edition. New York: D. Appleton and Company, n.d., p. 447.

[2] *Loc. cit.,* p. 448.

[3] *Loc. cit.,* pp. 507 *et seq.*

[4] *Loc. cit.,* p. 537.

ondary, emergent, not primary and pre-existent. Those who have made the study of competition their special concern, the economists, have for this reason, practically without exception, been individualists, atomists, contractualists, and mechanists in social theory. Not so Herbert Spencer. He sticks to his organicism even when he comes to tackle the great phenomenon of competition, of competitive strife. Briefly, his submission is that competition is only an aspect of co-operation, of organic co-operation, to be exact. In the body physical each organ takes out of the blood-stream what it needs for repair and growth; what *it* takes out, others cannot take out, and to that extent there is competition between them. But the final result is, in the healthy organism at any rate, the optimal apportionment of resources to needs, optimal from the point of view of the welfare of the whole. So also in society. What organs are and do in the body physical, that, Spencer asserts, industries are and do in the body social. "In both cases," he writes, "these structures, competing with one another for their shares of the circulating stock of consumable matters, are enabled to appropriate, to repair themselves, and to grow in proportion to their performances of functions." [5] One need not absolutely deny that there is a parallel here between body physical and body social, in so far as both show a division and integration of labor. But, surely, the great difference is, that in the body physical integration precedes, and is stronger than, division, whereas in the body social it is the other way round. This fact could not for ever remain unknown to so keen a mind as Herbert Spencer, and it comes to the fore in other parts of his work. It is even more prominent in a later work of his, "The Man *versus* the State," of 1884. The curious thing is that he never abandoned his organicism. He simply developed a second social theory, diametrically opposed to the first, and set it beside the other, as if two so hostile brethren could peacefully coexist under the same roof!

"THE MAN VERSUS THE STATE"

This second theory, just like the first, is essentially a modernized version of an older mode of thought. It is akin to that contractual explanation of the social bond which we find, not only in Jean-Jacques Rousseau, but in many writers of the eighteenth century. It is true that Spencer, in one or two passages, seems to reject the whole idea of a *contrat social,* but if one looks more closely, one sees soon enough that he objects only to two secondary features of the theory, not to the essential submission of the theory itself. He does not believe—and who could blame him?—that the *contrat social* was a historical fact, that there ever was a day and a place where it was concluded; and he protests against the use or abuse of this contractual conception for the justification of government and governmental tyranny, as if people had ever bound themselves to obey those who happen to control the state.[6] But all this does not mean that he finds the main thesis of contractualism inacceptable. On the contrary, he accepts it and he develops it. This main thesis is the definition of the social order as a network of contracts or quasi-contracts between individuals, and if one collects together all the passages in which this definition is used and elaborated, one sees that it plays at least as great a part in his thinking as the opposite theory, organicism.

Indeed, it can be shown that Spencer had to throw himself into the arms of this contractualism, because he was at heart an extreme individualist. In a crucial paragraph which does not blend with, but does jar against, the organological argument of "The Inductions of Sociology," Spencer admits that there can be no comparison between body physical and body social after all, because the body physical has only one seat of consciousness, thought and feeling, namely the brain, whereas in the body social every cell, that is to say, every individual, has consciousness and thinks and feels for himself.[7] In another passage, he himself pronounces the doom of that organismic theory, of that definition of society as a unity rather than a multiplicity, which he himself has so carefully elaborated. "Though, in foregoing chapters, comparison of social structures and functions to structures and functions in the human body, have in many cases been made,"

[5] *Loc. cit.*, p. 518.

[6] *The Man versus the State,* edited with an introduction by Albert Jay Nock, Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1945, pp. 176 *et seq.*

[7] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 460 *et seq.*

he says with great candor, but, I am afraid, with little logic, "the social organism, discrete instead of concrete, asymmetrical instead of symmetrical, sensitive in all its units instead of having a single sensitive centre, is not comparable to any particular type of individual organism." [8] This clearly amounts to saying that a society is after all a multiplicity rather than a unity, and if this view is taken, then it is very difficult to account for the existence and for the coherence of social life without using, in some way and to some extent, the concepts of contractualism.

In "The Man *versus* the State," and especially in the fourth chapter of that book, Spencer then develops this contractual theory without remembering the contents of his "Principles of Sociology," indeed, without apparently being aware that he is contradicting himself. Once again he asks the question, what is a society? But this time he has a new answer: it is no more, he says, than "the mutual limitation of [individual] activities." [9] In other words, society is nothing in itself. It is not a scheme which exists before the individuals and into which they must fit themselves; it is not a kind of organism endowed with ontological reality; it is not a thing. It is merely the mutual relationships which obtain between the individuals—the individuals who alone are real in the ontological sense of the word; it is the system of mutual restraints which the individuals force on each other in their attempt to coexist; it is—to use more technical language—an equilibrium system between individual forces. Spencer has finally crossed his Rubicon: he has abandoned organicism and embraced mechanism. And he shows himself as radical a mechanist, as he had been an organicist. Society would not even exist, he tells us, if it were not useful to the men who join it. Far from being a form of life, it is an artifact—a tool which the individuals fashion in order to use it for their purposes, and which is justified in its existence only because, and insofar as, it is subservient to individual welfare. This is what Spencer writes: "Though mere love of companionship prompts primitive men to live in groups, yet the chief prompter is experience of the advantages to be derived from co-operation. On what condition only can co-operation arise? Evidently on condition that those who join their efforts severally gain by doing so." The word "severally" is particularly significant in this context. And, four pages later, he writes again: "The life of a society . . . depends on maintenance of individual rights. If it is nothing more than the sum of the lives of citizens, the implication is obvious. If it consists of those many unlike activities which citizens carry on in mutual dependence, still this aggregate impersonal life rises or falls according as the rights of individuals are enforced and denied." [10]

It is manifest from all this that a split goes right across Spencer's sociological thinking. We can note in passing that it would have been easy for him to save the coherence and consistency of his thought by bringing in here the distinction he draws elsewhere between militant and industrial society, and saying that a militant society, fighting, as a whole, against other societies, is more like a unity than like a multiplicity, whereas an industrial society, which subserves individual welfare, is more like a multiplicity than like a unity. If he had taken this line, he would have anticipated, in its essentials, the deep insights which Ferdinand Tönnies was soon to present to the world. But it is a fact that he does not take this line; on the contrary, he bars the avenue of escape which would have been open to him. In "The Principles of Sociology" he says expressly that both militant and industrial society are organisms, only that in militant society the limbs, the outer limbs, the arms, are better developed than the digestive tract, and in industrial society it is the other way round, the digestive tract is better developed than are the limbs. And in "The Man *versus* the State" he insists that *every* society without distinction is a network of contracts. Militancy, he observes, obscures the contractual nature of social life but does not abolish it. Even the slave gets food, clothing and protection in exchange, in quasi-contractual exchange, for the work he does in his master's service. No society without contract; no society, therefore, that would not essentially be a multiplicity.[11]

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[8] *Loc. cit.*, p. 592.

[9] *Loc. cit.*, p. 198.

[10] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 199 and 203.

[11] *The Principles of Sociology*, esp. vol. I/2, pp. 519 *et seq.*; *The Man versus the State*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 199 *et seq.*

"SOCIAL STATICS"

Spencer was so little aware of his inconsistency that he even managed to present both contradictory points of view within the framework of one and the same book. That book was called "Social Statics" and first came out in 1850. He speaks there in terms of evolutionary tendencies rather than in terms of philosophical conceptualization, but that makes very little difference so far as logic is concerned. On page 497 he asserts that society becomes increasingly unified, more and more like an organism, like a thing. "We find," he says literally, "not only that the analogy between a society and a living creature is borne out to a degree quite unsuspected by those who commonly draw it, but also, that the same definition of life applies to both. This union of many men into one community—this increasing mutual dependence of units which were originally independent—this growth of an organism . . . may all be generalized under the law of individuation. The development of society . . . may be described as a tendency to individuate—to become a thing." But on p. 476 he had described multiplicity, lasting and irreducible multiplicity, as the end point of social development "Mankind are progressing," he had written, toward "that condition in which the individuality of each may be unfolded without limit, save the like individualities of others," a "condition of things dictated by the law of equal freedom." However carefully and charitably one may interpret these two passages, the hard fact remains that they are irreconcilable. Society may conceivably travel towards the maximum, or it may travel towards the minimum, of integration. It cannot do both things at the same time.

Clearly, then, Spencer was in the same predicament as the hero in Goethe's "Faust": "Two souls, alas, are dwelling in my breast!" It is instructive to ask, *why* he was so divided against himself. The answer to this question reveals the two greatest dangers which lie in wait for the naive, unwary sociologist. Spencer insisted that a society is many rather than one, that everything depends on the maintenance of individual rights, because he was an extreme liberal, even a near-anarchist. Man must not be cramped; he must not be coerced by others into doing what he does not want to do; therefore society must be regarded as essentially a coexistence, a coordination, of individual liberties. The contractual theory is simply inspired by a political creed. The psychological roots of the organismic argument are perhaps a little more difficult to discover, but even they do not lie very far under the surface. In Spencer's day biology was the queen of the sciences. You gained prestige by being a biologist of a kind. And the easiest way of making sociology into a kind of biology was to take the traditional body-metaphor, so beloved of the ancient and medieval philosophers, and give it a modern scientific twist and meaning. If this implied accepting the proposition that society was one rather than many, this could not be helped; the price was not too high to be paid—or so Spencer felt. The biologist's clothes do not really fit the social scientist, in fact, he is apt to look a little ridiculous in them; but Spencer would not have changed them for any other garb.

"PRINCIPLES OF PSYCHOLOGY"

I have compared Spencer to Goethe's Faust, torn hither and thither by conflicting loyalties. In fact, his plight was even more serious than that of the unhappy man, for he had yet a third tendency in him—the tendency towards a sociology neither organismic nor contractual, but cultural; a sociology very different from the two others, because it makes the sociality of man the product of human forces, forces operative in history, not of natural forces, be they vital or mechanical, which operate outside history and are independent of it. To find this third theory—and it is well worth looking for—we must go beyond his professedly sociological writings and turn to his "Principles of Psychology." It is none the less interesting for us for being presented in that particular framework; and I am convinced that it has had more influence on the main stream of sociological thought than either of its rivals.

It was one of Spencer's firmest convictions that man as he comes from the hands of nature is not really a social being—not yet at any rate. He may be potentially social; he is not at first actually so. There is in this respect no difference between the savage and the child. Both are entirely self-centered;

both have not yet learned how to discipline themselves, how to behave and conduct themselves in the circle of their fellows. This comparison between the savage and the child is typical nineteenth century. It strikes us today as rather child-like, not to say childish. But it is worth analyzing because it teaches us a good deal about Spencer and his individualism, atomism, mechanism, and contractualism. Society is not there from the beginning; in the beginning there is the individual, and sociality is merely a later addition—a secondary phenomenon. But it is, strange to say, also characteristic of his biologism. In his opinion, the social development—the socialization—of the child repeats the social development—the socialization—of the race. Clearly, we have before us here an attempt on Spencer's part to take one of the laws of contemporary biology and transfer it bodily, so to speak, to sociology. Baer and Haeckel had taught the biologists just before Spencer appeared on the scene to understand ontogeny—the evolution of the individual, his physical, and in particular his pre-natal physical evolution—as a recapitulation of phylogeny, the evolution of man as a species from some pre-historical subhuman ancestor to his present state. Spencer assumed that this law of biology must be a law of sociology also. What is true of the body physical, must needs be equally true of the body social—a very characteristic conviction on his part. But what is most significant—perhaps what is most exciting—about this whole complex of ideas is that it shows us Spencer entering a new field and following a new track. If the infant and if the primitive are not genetically social, then their sociality must be learned; then it must be due to education, that is to say, a cultural process. Then sociology cannot be modelled either on biology or on mechanics; then it must be a deeply human study. Then nature becomes merely a background to the social system, and in the foreground stands man himself, man as he raises himself by his own effort from a merely physical existence to the level of social, and that is to say, civilized and cultured life.

The technical label which Spencer stuck on to this, his third sociology, was "the theory of the ego-altruistic sentiments." [12] Man may have in him a certain purely altruistic strain, a certain, at first largely dormant strain of sympathy, but, by and large, as he emerges from the assembly lines of evolution, he is characterized and dominated by purely egoistic leanings. Every baby, Spencer thought, can prove that this is so. But then the baby is born into a social situation, and in this situation, because it is social, he has to add to his natural a definite social behavior, a social behavior which will not only modify his habitual mode of action, but ultimately his very self. Experience will teach him that there are some lines of conduct which will call out the hostility and the active ill-will of his fellowmen, while there are others which will arouse, not hostility, but approval, not ill-will, but good will. Hostility and ill-will mean pain, or at least the threat of it. Approval and good will mean pleasure, or at least the promise of it. Therefore the very selfishness of the agent will lead him to pursue socially acceptable lines of action and to shun such as are socially not acceptable. The very selfishness of the agent will induce him to embrace a life-policy which pursues personal aims by socially approved means, in other words, so to shape his behavior that it becomes compatible with the corresponding behavior of those around him—that it becomes socialized, that it becomes social.[13] An ego-altruistic self comes into being and overlays the basic egoistic self; and, as it does so, multiplicity gives way to unity: the many become one. Now, insofar as the ego-altruistic sentiments are the fruits of experience, they are not products of natural facts or forces, but man-made phenomena, part and parcel of history and culture. Spencer's third social theory is philosophically worlds apart from the two others. It shows us a mode of sociological thinking which is no longer in thrall to the natural sciences but has gained its independence and found its true mission and its true stature and dignity.

The implications of Spencer's third atti-

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[12] *Synthetic Philosophy of Herbert Spencer. The Principles of Psychology*, vol. II/2. Westminster Edition. New York: D. Appleton and Company, n.d., pp. 592 *et seq.*

[13] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 598 *et seq.*

tude are tremendous, and he himself did not bring them fully out. But there is one important conclusion which he did draw. If social conduct is learned conduct, if it arises in and through education and experience, then there is nothing pre-determined about social life, then the measureless variety of social forms ceases to be a matter for surprise,[14] as it must be if it is regarded as a fixed pattern like an organism or an equally fixed pattern like an equilibrium system. Spencer moves to the very brink of the realization that a society is an order underlaid by comparative freedom, not an order dominated by comparative necessity. Not all the seeds he has sown blossom under his hands; but they are there all the same.

In the history of sociological thought, Spencer's third theory has played a far more significant part than either of the other two. To prove this, it is necessary to mention only one name—William Graham Sumner. Sumner's folkway concept is directly inspired by, and based on, Spencer's concept of ego-altruistic sentiments. It was through Sumner that what is most vital in Spencer's sociology entered into American sociology, and through American sociology into world sociology. In this case, the son was probably greater than the father; but we who are the son's sons, do well to remember our father's father. His inspiration is still with us, and so it will remain, a treasured possession, even in days to come.

[14] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 602 *et seq.*

ORDERLY CAREERS AND SOCIAL PARTICIPATION: THE IMPACT OF WORK HISTORY ON SOCIAL INTEGRATION IN THE MIDDLE MASS *

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Durkheim's and Mannheim's ideas about careers as a source of social integration are put to the test among 678 urban white males of the upper-working and lower-middle classes, aged 21–55. Data suggest that chaotic experience in the economic order fosters a retreat from both work and the larger communal life. Even a taste of an orderly career enhances the vitality of participation: compared with men who have chaotic work histories, those who spend at least a fifth of their worklives in functionally-related, hierarchically-ordered jobs have stronger attachments to formal associations and the community. Their contacts with kin, friend, and neighbor are at once more integrated, wide-ranging, and stable. Their "occupational community" is stronger. These contrasts are especially marked among young, high-income college men—a vanguard population. Although men with work histories that fit the model of "career," comprise only a tiny slice of the labor force in modern societies, they may be strategic for social order.

It is clear that *class cultures* (sustained by similar levels of income and education and common absorption of the mass media) and *ethnic-religious cultures* (sustained by common descent and early socialization) significantly shape social relations. It is also clear that *occupational cultures* (rooted in common tasks, work sched-

* Paper read at the American Sociological Association meetings, New York City, September, 1960. Part of a larger study of "Labor and Leisure in the Urban Community" made possible by grants from the National Institute of Mental Health (M-2209), 1958–60, and a fellowship at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, 1956–57. For description and theoretical background of the study, see H. L. Wilensky, "Work, Careers, and Social Integration," *International Social Science Journal*, 12 (Fall, 1960), pp. 543–560, and *Work and Leisure*, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, forthcoming. I am indebted to Albert J. Reiss, Jr. and Morris Janowitz for critical readings of an early draft, and to John C. Scott, Michael T. Aiken, Paul R. Kimmel, Betty Burnside and other members of our labor-leisure seminar for research assistance, especially in the difficult task of coding complete work histories.

ules, job training, and career patterns) are sometimes better predictors of behavior than both social class and pre-job experience. The question of which is most important in determining specific types of social relations remains quite open. The evidence, while scanty, suggests that wherever work ties are severed, there is a decline in community participation—whether we consider variations over the life span of persons or variations among groups at one point in time. For instance, excluding churches, there appears to be a general curve of participation in formal associations which closely parallels a job satisfaction curve—a sharp drop in the early 20's, especially among hard-pressed married couples, a climb to a peak in the middle years, a slight drop-off and then a final sag in the 60's—and these cycles seem to be interdependent, although good longitudinal data are as usual lacking.[1] More important, those persons and groups with the most tenuous ties to the economic order—from men squeezed out of the labor market (older workers and retirees, the unemployed) to "unemployables" who seldom get in (skid row bums, adolescents of the slum)—are also those who are most isolated in community and society.[2]

Plainly, Durkheim's view that in modern society workplace and occupational group draw the person into the mainstream of social life deserves further elaboration and test. This is perhaps the central problem of the sociology of work—the effect of the division of labor on social integration, or more precisely the conditions under which work role, occupational association, and career are most and least effective as bonds of solidarity either within workplace or between workplace and larger units, or both.[3]

The guiding hypothesis of the present study is this:

The vitality of social participation, primary and secondary, and the strength of attachment to community and to the major institutional spheres of society are in part a function of cumulative experience in the economic system. Participation in community life is a natural extension of participation in the labor market; orderly and pleasant experiences in the latter provide motive and opportunity for the former. Specifically, *where the technical and social organization of work* (1) *offers much freedom*—e.g., discretion in methods, pace or schedule, and opportunity for frequent interaction with fellow workers who share common interests and values (2) *necessitates sustained and wide-ranging contact* with customer or client, making the work role visible to the community and (3) *provides an orderly career* in which one job normally leads to another, related in function and higher in status, then work attachments will be strong, work integrated with the rest of life, and ties to community and society solid. Conversely, if the task offers little workplace freedom (assembly-line workers, dentists, accountants and many engineers) if the job demands no customer or client contact and yields no readily visible status claim ("burr knocker" in a job shop, "console operator" in an insurance office), if the work history is punctuated by unexpected periods of unemployment, disorderly shifts among jobs, occupations, and industries, then work attachments will be weak, work sharply split from leisure, and ties to community and society uncertain.

In short, to the extent that men are exposed to disciplined work routines yielding little gratification and have "careers" which

[1] See H. L. Wilensky, "Life Cycle, Work Situation, and Participation in Formal Associations," in R. W. Kleemeier, editor, *Aging and Leisure*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1961, pp. 213–242.

[2] On the effect of unemployment, see E. W. Bakke, *The Unemployed Man*, New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1934 and *Citizens Without Work*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940; B. Zawadski and P. Lazarsfeld, "The Psychological Consequences of Unemployment," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 6 (May, 1935), pp. 224–51; P. Eisenberg and P. Lazarsfeld, "The Psychological Effect of Unemployment," *Psychological Bulletin*, 35 (June, 1938), pp. 358–90; M. Komarovsky, *The Unemployed Man and His Family*, New York: Dryden, 1940. Cf. W. Kornhauser, *The Politics of Mass Society*, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1959. On the position of youth, see S. N. Eisenstadt, *From Generation to Generation: Age Groups and the Social Structure*, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1956. On the decline of participation with aging, see citations in Wilensky, *op. cit.* None of these studies, however, tells us whether re-employment brings a return to previous participation levels, none deals with the impact of other forms of economic deprivation or discontinuity (e.g., continuous employment, but chaotic "careers").

[3] Cf. E. Durkheim, "Some Notes on Occupational Groups" in *The Division of Labor in Society*, translated by George Simpson, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1947, Preface to 2nd edition.

are in no way predictable, their retreat from work will be accompanied by a withdrawal from the larger communal life—and this will apply to the middle class as well as the working class.

In order to tackle these and similar problems, we have in the past two years interviewed about 1500 men in various occupational groups, strata, and workplaces. This paper deals with 678 white males of the "middle mass" and the effect of their career patterns on the kinds and strength of their ties to community and society.

"CAREER" AS A SOCIOLOGICAL PROBLEM

There is uncommon agreement that the study of types and rates of mobility is crucial to an understanding of modern society. And there are hints that worklife mobility may be more fateful than intergenerational mobility.[4] It is therefore remarkable that detailed work histories which cover a decade or more have been reported in only about a dozen studies.[5] These studies have located types of job histories in various strata, and they leave no doubt that modern adult life imposes frequent shifts between jobs, occupations, employers, and workplaces; but they tell us little of the consequences for person and social structure.

Let us define career in structural terms. A career is a succession of related jobs, arranged in a hierarchy of prestige, through which persons move in an ordered (more-or-less predictable) sequence. Corollaries are that the job pattern is instituted (socially-recognized and sanctioned within some social unit) and persists (the system is maintained over more than one generation of recruits).

It has long been recognized that careers in this sense are a major source of stability. Every group must recruit and maintain its personnel and motivate role performance. Careers have served these functions for organizations, occupational groups, and societies, and in cultures as diverse as those of medieval Europe, Soviet Russia and the United States. Careers also give continuity to the personal experience of the most able and skilled segments of the population—men and groups who otherwise would produce a level of rebellion or withdrawal which would threaten the maintenance of the system. By holding out the prospect of continuous, predictable rewards, careers foster a willingness to train and achieve, to adopt a long time perspective and defer immediate gratifications for the later pay-off. In Mannheim's phrase, they lead to the gradual creation of a "life plan."[6]

Most men, however, never experience the joys of a life plan because most work situations do not afford the necessary stable progression over the worklife. There is a good deal of chaos in modern labor markets, chaos

[4] H. L. Wilensky and H. Edwards, "The Skidder: Ideological Adjustments of Downward Mobile Workers," *American Sociological Review*, 24 (April, 1959), pp. 215–231. Cf. W. Read, "Some Factors Affecting Upward Communication at Middle-Management Levels in Industrial Organizations," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Michigan, 1959, which reports a correlation of $+.41$ ($p<.01$) between upward worklife mobility and holding back "problem" information from the boss among 52 middle-level executives (mean age 37), but no correlation for intergenerational mobility.

[5] E.g., P. E. Davidson and H. D. Anderson, *Occupational Mobility in an American Community*, Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1937; W. H. Form and D. C. Miller, "Occupational Career Pattern as a Sociological Instrument," *American Journal of Sociology*, 54 (January, 1949), pp. 317–329; S. M. Lipset and R. Bendix, "Social Mobility and Occupational Career Patterns," *American Journal of Sociology*, 57 (January and March, 1952), pp. 336–374, 494–504; W. L. Warner and J. C. Abegglen, *Occupational Mobility in American Business and Industry*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1955; the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics series on work histories of skilled populations, and the earlier Works Progress Administration studies. For the complete list see "Work, Careers, and Social Integration," *op. cit.* The Six City Survey of Occupational Mobility, although based on only one decade, contains the most adequate data and most extensive and representative sample. From it we can say that in most cases changing jobs means changing *both* occupation and industry, and projecting the data, the average worker will hold 12 jobs in a 46-year worklife and only one man in five will remain at the same occupational level throughout his worklife—*if* the decade 1940–50 is typical, *if* the Census categories are meaningful, etc. G. L. Palmer, *Labor Mobility in Six Cities*, New York: Social Science Research Council, 1954; A. J. Reiss, Jr., "Occupational Mobility of Professional Workers," *American Sociological Review*, 20 (December, 1955), pp. 693–700; and A. J. Jaffe and R. O. Carleton, *Occupational Mobility in the United States*, 1930–1960, New York: King's Crown Press, 1954.

[6] K. Mannheim, *Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction*, translated by E. A. Shils, New York: Harcourt Brace and Co., 1940, pp. 56, 104–106, 181.

intrinsic to urban-industrial society. Rapid technological change dilutes old skills, makes others obsolete and creates demand for new ones; a related decentralization of industry displaces millions, creating the paradox of depressed areas in prosperous economies; metropolitan deconcentration shifts the clientele of service establishments, sometimes smashing or restructuring careers; recurrent crises such as wars, depressions, recessions, coupled with the acceleration of fad and fashion in consumption, add a note of unpredictability to the whole. There are many familiar variations on the main theme: in industries such as construction, entertainment, maritime, and agricultural harvesting, the employment relationship is typically casual. In food processing and the needle trades, drastic seasonal curtailments are common.

All this is easy to see among populations that are depressed, deprived, or marginal—non-white victims of racial discrimination, underdogs on relief rolls, miners stuck on a played-out coal patch, the chronically unemployed among the old, sick, or disabled.

But what about the vanguard population—the great middle mass around which *Fortune* magazine's portrait of the "soaring sixties" is drawn? What portion of the growing middle—the lower middle class and upper working class—can be said to have orderly careers? This paper will show that a majority of the middle mass experiences various degrees of disorder in the work history. At the same time it will test several hypotheses about the functions of predictability by comparing the behavior of men with disorderly work histories with that of the more fortunate, the men of orderly career. It will give special attention to those at higher education and income levels. Assuming that the middle mass will grow in size and influence, that education and income levels will continue to rise, and assuming (with less confidence) that job histories will become more like careers, we may thereby come to some hints of the direction of social change.

DIMENSIONS AND MEASURES OF CAREER

Although we have many sophisticated discussions in the sociological literature,[7] two difficulties have discouraged the full and systematic exploration of the problem of "career": (1) conceptualizing both career pattern and social participation; (2) gathering and processing data beyond crude levels. In handling careers as a source of social integration, I have given special attention to one dimension of job history beyond direction and amount of movement: the degree of orderliness—i.e., how well it fits the model of "career." Complete work histories and information on each job, employer, and job change were recorded in a detailed interview. In coding, we first aimed to rank all jobs in four classes according to society-wide judgments of occupational prestige: upper-middle (high non-manual), lower-middle (low non-manual), upper working (high manual), lower working (low manual). Detailed instructions covered major classification problems: e.g., foremen were coded as high manual; all service occupations, farm employment, and highest military rank achieved were distributed among the four categories (e.g., farm owners or managers on farms of 100 acres or more were counted as low non-manual, on farms of 50–99 acres, high manual, all other farm employment, low manual). Where detailed instructions did not cover the case, the following additional information was used (in the priority listed) to fit jobs in: (1) the North-Hatt scale (e.g., service jobs like detective were counted low non-manual; playground director, policeman, Greyhound bus driver, railroad conductor, high manual; below, low manual); (2) data on education and training—e.g., all ambiguous jobs which might be skilled manual (requiring six months or more training on or off the job) were counted low manual if no special training was indicated in a separate battery on training; (3) job status or training inferred from the *Dictionary of Occupational Titles;* (4) data on changes in rates of pay and reasons for leaving (used

[7] E. C. Hughes, *Men and Their Work*, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1958; H. S. Becker and A. L. Strauss, "Careers, Personality, and Adult Socialization," *American Journal of Sociology*, 62 (November, 1956), pp. 253–263; N. H. Martin and A. L. Strauss, "Patterns of Mobility within Industrial Organizations," *Journal of Business*, 29 (April, 1956), pp. 101–110, and the work of Erving Goffman. See also such texts as R. Dubin, *The World of Work*, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1958, ch. 15, and E. Gross, *Work and Society*, New York: The Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1958.

as a last resort to indicate direction of movement).[8]

Combining direction with orderliness, the job histories were then coded as follows:

1. *Orderly horizontal progression. Orderly:* the skills and experience gained on one job are directly functional to performance in subsequent jobs and jobs are arranged in a hierarchy of prestige. Indicators: (a) an expert on occupations could defend the sequence as an ordered, more-or-less predictable pattern *or,* as a last resort only, (b) R planned the sequence, sees one step leading to another (coder read seven questions that would indicate this). And *horizontal progression:* some evidence of increased job status within one occupational stratum. E.g., carpenter's apprentice, journeyman, foreman in construction firm. These are functionally related, hierarchically-ordered jobs that do not cross-cut occupational strata.
2. *Orderly vertical progression.* At least half of the years covered in the work history are in jobs that are functionally related and arranged in hierarchy of prestige, and the mobility pattern cuts across occupational strata.
3. *Borderline orderly vertical progression.* At least a fifth but less than half of the worklife is in jobs that are functionally related and arranged in a hierarchy of prestige. The mobility pattern cuts across occupational strata.
4. *Disorderly horizontal movement.* Less than a fifth of the worklife is in functionally-related, hierarchially-ordered jobs—i.e., by no stretch of the imagination could the history be classified as a fifth or more orderly. Mobility pattern does not cut across occupational strata.
5. *Disorderly vertical movement.* For at least four-fifths of the worklife, jobs are neither functionally related nor hierarchically ordered. Cuts across occupational strata.
6. *One job for entire worklife.*

In order to avoid exaggeration of labor-market chaos, coders were instructed to resolve doubts in favor of orderliness. Similarly, "some orderly" was combined with "orderly," on the assumption that a modest amount of job predictability can go a long way to integrate a man into the social system. From inspection of detailed tables it appears that these borderline cases do occupy a middle ground with respect to the dependent variables.[9]

This entire coding effort was guided by the assumption that what several students have viewed as "bureaucratic" vs. "entrepreneurial" or "old middle class" vs. "new"[10] is better treated as types of careers that cross-cut organizations large and small, bureaucratic and not, as well as diverse age grades and economic strata. For instance: "bureaucracies" come and go. In many sectors of the economy mergers, relocations, and shutdowns (rooted in the population shifts and technological changes discussed above) reach big firms and high-seniority workers, and, sometimes, as the business press notes, they take their toll in executive careers, too. Even in the more stable bureaucracies, some layers of personnel (e.g., foremen) have quite chaotic job patterns. In the little

[8] We excluded low-status "clerical" jobs held for less than two years when respondent was under 21 (e.g., errand boy), as well as "moonlighting" (covered in a special battery, which showed that 36 per cent of the middle mass have at some time held secondary jobs). A code for worklife mobility covered all cases: on *distance,* much (clerk to college-educated engineer, non-manual to manual), some (non-college accountant to sales clerk, semi-skilled operative to foreman) or none (stable high non-manual, stable low manual, etc.); and on total *pattern,* four types of *up,* four *stable,* 11 *fluctuating,* six unstable or *highly fluctuating,* and four types of *down.* Based on a 15 per cent check (102 cases), the code as a whole has 85 per cent reliability; all but four of the disagreements, however, were choices between detailed codes within the major categories, "fluctuating" or "unstable," and could not affect this analysis.

[9] A 15 per cent check showed over 90 per cent reliability—and much of the disagreement was between orderly vertical and borderline orderly. For various reasons the 21 men in the "one job only" category were eliminated. A separate analysis, comparing one-job men with the rest of the middle mass shows similar distributions on all participation measures but two: one-jobbers have a wider range of secondary contacts and a lower range of primary contacts. To include them as "orderly horizontal" would slightly strengthen the case.

[10] See, e.g., D. R. Miller and G .E. Swanson, *The Changing American Parent,* New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1958; C. W. Mills, *White Collar,* New York: Oxford University Press, 1951; L. Corey, *The Crisis of the Middle Class,* New York: Covici, Friede, 1935.

TABLE 1. DISTRIBUTION OF THE MIDDLE MASS BY TYPE OF WORK HISTORY

		Number		Per Cent	
Orderly	Orderly Horizontal Progression	88		13%	
	Orderly Vertical Progression	116		17	
Borderline	Some Orderly Vertical Progression	223		33	
	Total Orderly		427		63
Disorderly	Disorderly Horizontal	36		5	
	Disorderly Vertical	194		29	
	Total Disorderly		230		34
One Job Only			21		3
	Grand Total		678		100%

leagues, too, there are great variations: a well-located, well-run service station may prosper for years, another may be the scene of recurrent bankruptcies.

The concept, "disorderly work history" (counterposed to "career"), takes account of these variations, permits determination of the incidence of real careers, and brings a broad range of cases into view. Table 1 shows that in the middle mass—a relatively secure population, well off by American standards—only 30 per cent can by any stretch of the imagination be said to act out half or more of their work histories in an orderly career. If we count the lower class, excluded from this sample, it is apparent that a vast majority of the labor force is going nowhere in an unordered way or can expect a worklife of thoroughly-unpredictable ups and downs.

Comparing men with orderly careers and those with disorderly work histories, we see in Table 2 an almost even distribution among a variety of social characteristics — although high-income college men do have a decided edge among the orderly. Thus, as an independent variable, orderliness cross-cuts traditional categories of sociological analysis; if it has an impact on social life, that impact is distinctive.

DIMENSIONS AND MEASURES OF OBJECTIVE SOCIAL PARTICIPATION

The research aimed to analyze social relations with an eye to their capacity for linking the person and his immediate family to the larger communal life. Four dimensions were found useful in approaching this problem: (1) *the number of roles* played (groups participated in, primary, informal, or secondary), *the frequency of contact* and amount of *time* in each; (2) the *range* of participation; (3) *role integration*—the degree of *coherence* of the pattern; and (4) the *stability or duration* of relationships. Together these constitute an index of the vitality of objective participation, the dimensions and measures of which are discussed below. Unless otherwise specified, coding reliability on a 15 per cent check was over 95 per cent.

Secondary attachments. From detailed information on each organization to which the respondent belongs plus a battery on organizational and community activities, the following indexes were developed.

1. *Number of memberships.* Each organization counts one point for a quartile ranking. Church counts one only if respondent reported a current religious preference and attended church services at least once a month. Men in the two highest quartiles (three organizations or more) were scored High.

2. *Frequency of contact and time spent.* For each organization other than church, we asked when it held regular meetings, how many of the last six the respondent attended, whether this was usual, etc. In the absence of precise information, we counted a meeting as worth two hours. We similarly elicited data on time spent on organizational activities other than regular meetings—committee work, phone calls, money-raising, etc. We then estimated the usual hours per month for all organizational activity. This measure avoids the common tendency to over-estimate levels of participation. Excepting regular church services, we found that almost

TABLE 2. DIRECTION AND DISTANCE OF MOBILITY, FATHER'S OCCUPATION, WORKING FOR OTHERS, RELIGION, AND AGE ARE UNRELATED TO ORDERLINESS IN THE WORK HISTORY

		Orderly	Disorderly
Worklife Mobility	Up	35%	34%
	Stable	21	16
	Fluctuating and Down	21	25
	Unstable	23	25
		100% (427)*	100% (230)*
Inter-generational Mobility	Much Up	23%	18%
	Some Up	11	4
	Stable	43	42
	Some Down	2	14
	Much Down	18	18
	R Lived in Orphanage	2	4
Father's Occup. Stratum When R Was a Teen-ager	High Non-manual	1%	—%
	Low Non-manual	37	32
	High Manual	30	36
	Low Manual	22	21
	Living in orphanage or father dead	10	11
Per Cent of Worklife Self Employed	Self Employed		
	More than 20% of Worklife	14%	16%
	20% or Less of Worklife	9	8
	Never Self Employed	77	76
Religion	Catholic	46%	41%
	Jewish	3	4
	Other	51	54
Age	Over 40	46%	39%
	Under 40	54	61
Occupational Stratum	White Collar	51%	41%
	Blue Collar	49	59
Income	Under 8000	51%	66%
	8000 and More	49	34
Education	Less than High School	30%	47%
	High School Grad	40	35
	Some College	30	18

* N's vary slightly because of "not ascertains" on the comparison variables. 21 1-job cases have been deleted. NA's for age, income, and education are cumulative.

4 in 10 of the middle mass, a relatively active population, spend less than 30 minutes a month on all organizational activity; median time is about two hours. (Compare their median estimated time watching TV—about 48 hours per month.)

3. *Range of secondary participation.* A man may play many roles in many groups, interact at a high rate, and devote much time to it—all with family and relatives living in a homogeneous neighborhood. If our interest is in the integrative potential of social ties, we must note, too, the participation pattern of miners, longshoremen, and others who are surrounded by men like themselves, and who, in lodge and union, at home and at the bar, reinforce their common alienation and isolation.

Accordingly, special attention has been given to the range of social relations, primary and secondary. "Range" is the variation in *interests* (concern for or stake in the course of events), *values* (affectively-toned, group-shared desires which serve as criteria for choice among ends) and *status* (prestige levels) represented by all the roles the person plays. This aims to permit classification of respondents from "community isolation" through ever-wider circles of involvement. Two operational criteria were used for sec-

ondary range: (a) heterogeneity of membership to which exposed; (b) number of major institutional spheres to which exposed.

a. *Heterogeneity:* the degree to which the respondent's organizations provide opportunity for interacting with people who differ from him in important social characteristics. All types of organizations were put in four categories according to heterogeneity of their members in occupation, income, education, ethnicity or religion or race, age or life cycle, and sex—in that order of importance. The categories are: *narrow range or least heterogeneity of membership* (e.g., exclusive craft unions, professional groups, property-owners associations, business pressure groups, etc.); *medium-restricted range* (e.g., minority defense organizations, like the NAACP or Polish National Alliance, ambiguous multi-craft unions, church-connected organizations, workplace-based leisure associations); *medium range* (e.g., inclusive labor unions, service clubs and civic groups, PTA, church, youth-serving groups, non-neighborhood card and social clubs, fraternal organizations, etc.); *broad range* (tolerance organizations, charitable organizations, political parties, etc.). In the scale developed, minimum exposure was required; if respondent attends none of the last six meetings or answers "don't know," if he names church preference but never attends, he receives no points. Otherwise, the more range, the more points. Pre-coded lists were made up in difficult cases (e.g., unions). Coding reliability for a 15 per cent check of the detailed code was 81 per cent. The lowest two quartiles (0–11) were counted as low range, the highest two (12–42), high range.

b. *Number of institutional spheres covered* by respondent's membership—economic, political-military, educational, religious, public welfare, recreation-aesthetic. The major and peripheral functions and purposes of each type of organization were listed on a chart, with three points for a major function in a given sphere (e.g., labor unions are mainly economic), one point for peripheral functions (unions, one for political, and one for welfare). Maximum respondent score in any sphere is three. The detailed code has a reliability of 84 per cent. The scoring system, with a minimum exposure criterion, yields a dichotomy of 0–7 vs. 8–18.

4. *Attachment to the community.* Except among officials and community elites there are few obvious and direct attachments to the communities constituting a metropolis. On the assumption that schools and churches are major transmitters of the most widely-shared community values, and the private welfare structure is another potential source of contact, we used voting in the most recent school election and size of contribution to church and charity as indicators of community attachment. A high score goes to men who remember the school election and say they voted to increase school taxes (40 per cent of all). A charitable contribution of at least $100 was scored high. (The median amount is $100 to $199; the median slice of annual family income is 1.8 per cent.)

Primary and informal relations. The study assumes that "primary" relations vary in their potential for expanding the person's horizons; some ties to kin and friend are more parochial than others. Accordingly, the interview included many questions on the number and group contexts of leisure-time activities, number of persons known well, the last time the respondent got together socially with neighbors, relatives not living with him, fellow-workers, people in the same line of work, and others, a complete battery on each of three best friends, and two questions on income and location of relatives.

The major dimensions and measures of objective primary relations used for this analysis follow:

1. *Range of primary relations* (See secondary range above). The minimum exposure counted was "got together socially within the past two months." The range score begins with one point for living with wife and children, moves up to four points for recent contact with people in the same line of work who work elsewhere or "other" friends (cross-neighborhood, former workplace, etc.). Contact with often-seen relatives earns from one to four points. (If almost all or about half live in the neighborhood and most are in the same income bracket, it is worth only one point; if few or no relatives contacted are neighbors and some are financially much better or worse off, then the respondent gets three points.) Fellow workers in the same type of work get three points, those in a different line get four points.

The top two quartiles score 8–18, a high range; the rest, low.

2. *The coherence and integration of primary and secondary roles.* A segregated role is one in which the behavior expected and preferred in one group has nothing to do with the behavior expected and preferred in any other group. For instance, when an occupational role (banker) becomes so elaborated that its rights and obligations come to embrace the behavior expected in other role systems (country club, family, Republican Party), we speak of "integrated roles." It is assumed that those roles that are most integrated are most effective in social control; from the viewpoint of the person such roles reduce conflict and choice and make for an easy falling in line. Here are the measures of role integration:

a. *Work associates and leisure-time friends.* The degree to which social relations at work overlap those off work was used as the first index. We coded the number of three best friends in the same workplace or occupation or both, how often each is seen socially outside of work, and other leisure contacts with other work associates. A strong "occupational community" (at least one best friend from work or in the same line of work who is seen socially at least once a week) covers 199 cases—29 per cent.

b. *Friendship circles.* The attack on traditional theories of urbanism and the rediscovery of Cooley's primary group have diverted attention from several crucial contrasts between modern and pre-modern patterns of friendship—among them, the tendency for urban-industrial populations to be linked in open networks rather than circles. Almost one-fifth of the middle mass have two or three best friends, none of whom know one another well; another six per cent have no friends or only one. The modal case names three best friends, two of whom know each other well; this or better was scored as high integration.

c. *Overlapping friendship and membership.* Those who have at least one membership in common with one best friend are scored high on integration.

3. *Duration of friendships.* A crude measure of stability of primary ties was the number of best friends who have been known for ten years or more. To score "high vitality" the respondent had to have either (1) one or two best friends, each known that long; or (2) three best friends, two of whom are of ten years' duration.

In sum: this study assumes that any social tie integrates. But those relationships that are wide-ranging, most coherent and stable are most effective in binding the person and his immediate family to community and society.

Specific hypotheses derived from these ideas about careers and participation are listed below with the findings.

THE MIDDLE MASS SAMPLE

The analysis is based on a multi-stage probability sample combining the use of city directories with block supplementation and segmentation procedures. The population sampled consisted of all private dwelling units within the tracted areas of the tri-county Detroit Standard Metropolitan Area and, within the selected dwelling units, those white, male members of the labor force who were 21 to 55 years old, ever married, who fell into the "middle mass." [11]

The middle mass is a residual category. We eliminated the lower half of the working class by requiring a minimum family income of $5,000 in any one year of the past five; we cut out the upper-middle class by applying the usual criteria of authority and skill. Upper-middle class *authority* was indicated by size of firm of owner (e.g., 25 or more employees), number of subordinates of manager or official (e.g., 100 or more) or control over client and monopoly of vital service among professionals. Upper-middle class *levels of skill* involve mastery of an abstract, codified body of knowledge (e.g., minister, architect or professor)—and imply a college education usually going beyond the bachelor's degree, or executive training after college. In order to eliminate upper middles, interviewers were given a list of specific occupation-education categories which were ineligible. Occupational categories which remained—clerks, salesmen,

[11] All primary sampling units were stratified on the basis of population; those which had a population of less than 25,000 (not self-representing) were further stratified on the basis of geographical and economic categories.

craftsmen, foremen, small proprietors, semi-marginal- or would-be-professionals and technicians, managers and officials with few subordinates, and operatives with high income —constitute the core of the middle mass.

In designing the sample we noted that in a 1958–59 Detroit area sample about 10–15 per cent of the eligibles in such middling occupational categories reported family incomes of $10,000–15,000. Therefore, we settled for an arbitrary top income limit for "lower-middle class" of $13,000—representing two-thirds of those who fit the occupation-education criteria (one standard deviation from the mean).

Thus, by use of selector questions, we bracketed in white, male members of the labor force, 21 to 55 years old, ever married, whose family incomes in any one of the past five years reached $5,000 or more but never topped $13,000. I think that this procedure yields a reasonable cross-section of the upper-working and lower-middle class —men at the bottom of various ladders leading upward, and some on their way down, too.[12]

Eligible men of the middle mass were found in 39 per cent of the 2137 occupied dwelling units visited. Of a total of 678 respondents, 47 per cent were coded as white collar and 53 per cent as blue collar. Their median age, 39; median family income in 1959, $7,650. Nearly three in five live in the suburbs.

The interview period was late January through March, 1960. Most interviews were done by graduate students in the Detroit Area Study, the rest by professional interviewers.[13] Median interview time: one hour and 48 minutes.

The analysis concentrates on one dimension of career, orderliness, as it affects the objective vitality of social participation.[14] Critical ratios of the differences in proportions were computed and treated as one-tail tests; percentage differences serve as a measure of the strength of relationships. The case rests upon the size and consistency of predicted differences within a homogeneous sample in which broad controls for race, family income, occupational stratum, age, marital status, and location were built in by selection. In testing hypotheses, three social characteristics that other studies have shown to be related to participation—education, income, and age—will be used as analytical controls. Then the conditioning effect and the independent effect of each of these will be examined. Since the independent and dependent variables are all dichotomized, support for the positively-stated hypothesis also supports the obverse.[15]

FINDINGS

I. *Men whose careers are orderly will have stronger attachments to formal associations and the community than men whose job histories are disorderly.* The data, summarized in the top half of Table 3, generally support the hypothesis. Of 72 possible comparisons of the orderly and disorderly (six dimensions of participation for 12 education-income-age categories), 24 comparisons show percentage differences in the unexpected direction. The overall net difference in the predicted direction is eight per cent.

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[12] This highly-stratified sample was dictated by theoretical interest in (1) the effect of types of mobility on leisure style, and the general problem of the content and implications of "blurring class lines"; (2) theories of the mass society and their empirical critics. The possibility that this sample represents a vanguard population in terms of its influence on social structure and culture also guided the design. Other samples of the study tap religious-ethnic and underdog subcultures, which remain at the bottom, and occupational subcultures, which flourish at the top.

[13] The DAS, a research-training facility of the College, The University of Michigan, directed by Harry M. Sharp, is part of the Master's program in sociology; it supplied various data-collection services for this sample. Before interviewing, the students had had experience in preliminary coding and analysis of long interviews carried out in a factory study by the labor-leisure project, as well as the usual interviewer training and pre-test field work.

[14] Data on work milieux—workplace freedom, status visibility, and customer-client contact—and the intervening variable, work alienation-indifference-attachment, as well as data on the "quality" or subjective meaning of participation, and the effect of such variables on the ways in which persons and groups relate to the major institutions of the society will be reported elsewhere.

[15] The obverse holds that chaotic work histories are associated with low vitality of social participation. Because the measure of disorderly work history is better than that for orderly career (which includes borderline cases), it can be argued that positive results mean *stronger* support for the obverse.

TABLE 3. ORDERLY CAREERS ARE ASSOCIATED WITH STRONG ATTACHMENTS TO FORMAL ASSOCIATIONS AND THE COMMUNITY, AND HIGH VITALITY OF PRIMARY PARTICIPATION, CONTROLLING FOR EDUCATION, INCOME, AND AGE

		Less Than 12 Grades				High School Graduate				Some College or More					
		Under $8000		$8000 and Over		Under $8000		$8000 and Over		Under $8000		$8000 and Over			
		Under 40	40 and Over	Under 40	40 and Over	Under 40	40 and Over	Under 40	40 and Over	Under 40	40 and Over	Under 40	40 and Over	Net Avg. % in Predicted Direction	p<**
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12		
Formal Associations and Community															
IA	No. of Memberships	22%*	−2%	2%	6%	3%	38%	9%	12%	6%	17%	31%	17%	13%	.01
IB	Frequency, Time, —Organizations	12	10	25	2	4	27	9	22	−9	17	23	−3	12	.03
IC_1	Secondary Range —Heterogeneity	−4	−1	18	35	−7	27	27	8	4	27	−4	−9	10	.03
IC_2	Secondary Range —Institutional Spheres	7	−9	−2	24	−18	30	−13	−5	−9	7	26	−9	2	.30
ID_1	Community Attachment —School Tax	12	−1	14	−16	21	−5	4	39	3	−13	27	12	8	.05
ID_2	Community Attachment —Charity	10	12	4	3	−3	−18	7	—	18	−11	38	−2	5	.10
	Net Avg. Percentage in Predicted Direction	10	2	10	9	—	16	7	13	2	7	24	1	8	
Primary Participation															
IIA	Primary Range	20	3	21	42	8	−8	15	24	2	−47	22	19	10	.01
IIB	Role Integration: Occupational Community	23	11	35	3	1	—	14	25	4	20	8	15	13	.01
IIC	Friendship Circles	2	18	9	16	13	−17	1	35	−2	11	17	−5	8	.02
IID	Stability of Friendships	14	−4	5	8	2	3	−11	−9	12	4	−1	23	4	.40
IIE	Overlapping Friendships and Memberships	3	−9	13	−18	18	18	−12	4	−7	17	5	—	3	.50
	Net Avg. Percentage In Predicted Direction	12	4	17	10	8	−1	1	16	2	1	10	10	8	
	N ***	(69)	(86)	(31)	(46)	(83)	(51)	(66)	(47)	(61)	(13)	(53)	(37)	(643)	

* Per cent in predicted direction (proportion by which orderly exceed disorderly in high vitality or strong attachment). Each figure is based on a four-fold subtable.

** The method for computing this combined probability is described in R. A. Fisher, *Statistical Methods for Research Workers*, Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, Ltd., 1944, 9th edition, pp. 99–101.

*** N's on which percentages are computed vary slightly within columns due to different response rates for different measures.

The results for each dimension of secondary attachment follow:

A. *Men with orderly careers will have more memberships in formal associations and attend more meetings (including church services) than men with disorderly work histories.* All but one of the 12 comparisons conform in direction to the hypothesis—a net average difference of 13 per cent. $p<.01$.

B. *Men with orderly careers will average more hours a month in all activities of formal associations (excluding church services) than men with disorderly work histories.* Differences are in the predicted direction in 10 of the 12 comparisons; the net average in predicted direction is 12 per cent. $p<.03$. Using a measure which sifts out the activists, 29 per cent of the orderly appear in the highest quartile (10 or more hours per month) compared to 19 per cent of the disorderly.

C. *Men with orderly careers will range widely in their secondary attachments more often than men with disorderly work histories: the participants among the former will be exposed to organizations representing a greater variety of values, interests, and status levels.* Using the two indexes—heterogeneity of membership and number of institutional spheres covered by the respondent's memberships—the hypothesis is restated:

1. *The memberships of the orderly will offer greater opportunity for interacting with persons who differ from themselves in important social characteristics.* Differences are in the predicted direction in seven of the 12 comparisons. $p<.03$. The net average in the right direction is 10 per cent.

2. *The memberships of the orderly will expose them to more of the major institutional spheres of the society.* Only five of the 12 comparisons conform in direction; the net average difference is +2 per cent. The results do not even approach significance.

D. *Men with orderly careers will have stronger attachments to the community than men with disorderly work histories.* Two indicators:

1. *The orderly will more often support local schools; they will remember the last school election and report that they voted in favor of increased school taxes.* Eight of the 12 comparisons conform in direction—a net average of 8 per cent. $p<.05$.

2. *The orderly will more often report a contribution of $100 or more to churches and charity in the past year.* Seven of the comparisons are in the right direction. $p<.10$. The net average is +5 per cent. Using more stringent measures of community attachment —$200 or more or more than 1.8 per cent of family income—this small net average is wiped out and the pattern is insignificant. Orderliness predicts voluntary giving of modest amounts; it does not predict the donation of large sums or (taking account of ability-to-contribute) efforts going beyond the median.

II. *Men whose careers are orderly will evidence greater vitality of primary relations (a pattern of contact with kin, friend, and neighbor which ranges into the wider community) than men whose work histories are disorderly.* (It is assumed that the latter often retreat to family-home localism, a leisure style which is relatively isolated, although it may include many relationships and frequent interaction.) The data, presented in the lower half of Table 3, generally support the hypothesis. Of 60 possible comparisons of orderly and disorderly (five dimensions of primary relations for 12 education-income-age categories), only 13 show percentage differences in the unexpected direction. The net average difference in the predicted direction is eight per cent. Below is an analysis of sub-tables for each hypothesis specifying each dimension of primary group vitality.

A. *Compared with men whose work histories are disorderly, men whose careers are orderly will have a wider range of primary contacts—a pattern generally going beyond family and relatives in the same neighborhood and income bracket, and beyond others in the same neighborhood or type of work.* Ten of the 12 comparisons conform in direction to the hypothesis—a net average difference of 10 per cent. $p<.01$.

B. *Men whose careers are orderly will integrate work and non-work roles to a greater extent than men whose work histories are disorderly; their best friends will more often be persons in the same workplace or same line of work and they will more often see work associates socially.* All but one of the 12 differences are in the right direction. $p<.01$. The net average difference is +13 per cent. When a looser definition is applied

TABLE 4. PER CENT DIFFERENCE IN PREDICTED DIRECTION FOR EACH DIMENSION OF THE VITALITY OF PARTICIPATION, CONTROLLING SINGLY FOR EDUCATION, INCOME, AND AGE

			Grades of School Completed			Total Family Income		Age	
		Without Controls	11 or Fewer	12 (HS Grad.)	More Than 12	Under $8,000	$8,000 & Over	Under 40	40 & Older
Formal Associations and Community									
IA	No. of Memberships	14%*	5%	14%	17%	13%	15%	14%	14%
IB	Frequency, Time, —Organizations	13	10	13	3	11	14	12	14
IC_1	Secondary Range —Heterogeneity	6	6	11	—	1	14	2	12
IC_2	Secondary Range —Institutional Spheres	—	2	—5	4	—4	4	—4	6
ID_1	Community Attachment —School Tax	11	3	14	12	7	16	15	3
ID_2	Community Attachment —Charity	11	14	—1	17	8	10	15	2
Primary Participation									
IIA	Primary Range	13	15	9	5	4	25	14	12
IIB	Role Integration Occupational Community	7	9	7	4	4	10	9	4
IIC	Friendship Circles	6	9	6	5	4	12	4	10
IID	Stability of Friendships	6	12	—2	12	6	3	5	4
IIE	Overlapping Friendships and Memberships	2	—3	7	—	4	—1	3	—1
	N	(643)**	(232)	(247)	(164)	(363)	(280)	(363)	(280)

* All percentages refer to how much the men with orderly careers exceeded those with disorderly work histories in strong attachment or high score.

** N's on which percentages are computed vary slightly within column due to different response rates.

(no best friends from work, but sees people from work at least once a week) the net difference goes down to 7 per cent. The complementary hypothesis that *dis*orderliness leads to a sharp split between work and leisure (no fellow-worker friends, no contacts) is supported but not as strongly as the above.

C. *Men with orderly careers will have two or three best friends who know each other well more often than those with disorderly work histories.* Nine of the 12 comparisons are in the right direction. $p<.02$. Net average difference: 8 per cent.

D. *Men with orderly careers will have more long-lasting friendships than men with disorderly work histories.* Differences are in the predicted direction in eight of the 12 comparisons. $p<.40$. Net average in the right direction: only 4 per cent. A complete history of the picking up and dropping of friends would be better than number of years each best friend was known, which is too much a function of age.[16]

E. *Men whose careers are orderly will have best friends in clubs and organizations more often than those with disorderly work histories.* Seven of the 12 comparisons conform in direction. $p<.50$. The net average difference is only 3 per cent.

The conditioning effect of major social characteristics. What about education, income, and age (variables known to be related to social participation)? How do they condition the impact of an orderly career on the vitality of participation?

Table 4, controlling for these variables one at a time, shows that education, income, and age for the most part have weak and somewhat erratic conditioning effects. *Education* is most consistent: in five of six measures of secondary attachment a high school diploma or some college experience strengthens the tendency of the orderly to participate most;

[16] As in the case of the occupational community, however, college men with high incomes and orderly careers score strong; not one such person in 71 cases falls in the category "short-term friends or no best friends." Contrast low-income older men with less than high school, and disorderly work histories: 14 per cent fit the category (five in 35 cases).

TABLE 5. COLLEGE EDUCATION AND AN ORDERLY CAREER ARE BETTER PREDICTORS OF STRONG ATTACHMENTS TO FORMAL ASSOCIATIONS AND THE COMMUNITY THAN INCOME AND AGE

		Work History		Grades of School Completed			Total Family Income		Age	
		Orderly	Dis-orderly	11 or Fewer	12 (HS Grad.)	More Than 12	Under $8,000	$8,000 & Over	Under 40	40 & Over
IA	No. of Memberships	55%*	41%	37%	54%	60%	47%	54%	50%	50%
IB	Frequency, Time, —Organizations	54	41	38	54	60	47	52	53	46
IC_1	Secondary Range —Heterogeneity	58	52	57	54	58	57	55	55	57
IC_2	Secondary Range —Institutional Spheres	55	55	54	56	55	54	57	54	56
ID_1	Community Attachment —School Tax	44	33	34	42	46	39	41	39	41
ID_2	Community Attachment —Charity	78	67	69	75	80	69	81	69	81
	N	(420)**	(223)	(232)	(247)	(164)	(363)	(280)	(363)	(280)

* All percentages refer to proportions scoring high vitality or strong attachment.
** N's on which percentages are computed vary slightly within columns due to different response rates.

in three of five measures of primary participation (range, integration, circles), education weakens this tendency. *Income* has its strongest effect on the relationship between orderliness and range of social contacts—the more income, the sharper the contrasts. (E.g., controlling for age and education among men with $8,000 or more, the net average difference between orderly and disorderly in per cent whose primary contacts range widely is 24). The only aspect of participation for which *age* has an appreciable effect on the hypothesized relationship is that for secondary range.

In general, these control variables boost the effect of an orderly career most among younger, high-income college men and with respect to support of schools, contributions to church and charity, and primary range—the measures most clearly reflecting community attachment. (For instance: on local charity, the young, high-income college men with orderly careers have a 38 per cent edge over their disorderly counterparts—or, by the criterion of a $200 annual contribution, a 58 per cent edge. There are similarly strong relationships between orderliness and a "yes" vote on school taxes.)

TABLE 6. AN ORDERLY CAREER IS A BETTER PREDICTOR OF HIGH VITALITY OF PRIMARY PARTICIPATION THAN EDUCATION, INCOME, OR AGE

		Work History		Grades of School Completed			Total Family Income		Age	
		Orderly	Dis-orderly	11 or Fewer	12 (HS Grad.)	More Than 12	Under $8,000	$8,000 & Over	Under 40	40 & Over
IIA	Primary Range	55%*	42%	45%	51%	57%	49%	52%	57%	42%
IIB	Role Integration Occupational Community	33	23	33	29	25	29	30	32	27
IIC	Friendship Circles	80	74	79	75	80	79	76	79	76
IID	Stability of Friendships	55	49	56	48	56	50	56	40	69
IIE	Overlapping Friendships and Memberships	49	47	48	45	52	50	46	46	51
	N	(420)**	(225)	(232)	(247)	(164)	(363)	(280)	(363)	(280)

* All percentages refer to proportions scoring high vitality or strong attachment.
** N's on which percentages are computed vary slightly due to different response rates for different measures.

Perhaps this is a hint that the stratification system functions most clearly with respect to community-oriented behavior and among those who range informally across strata. In other contexts—with respect to the more private associations which lie between the nuclear family and community institutions—the stratification order and the criteria on which it is based are reinterpreted and their impact lessened.

The relative effect of social characteristics and work history. Tables 5 and 6 compare, without controls, the effect of career, education, income, and age. Table 5 shows that orderliness comes close to education in importance as a predictor of secondary participation and is clearly more important than income or age. (Note that comparing the "some college" men with the "less than HS" brings a 24 per cent difference on number of memberships. If career type were equally refined—e.g., by dropping the "borderline orderly" category—we might achieve more than 14 per cent, but sample size does not permit it.) In its effect across all measures of primary participation, career type is more important than any of the other variables. (See Table 6. While the differences here between orderly and disorderly are small but consistent, the differences by education, income, and age are both small and erratic.)

Tables 7 and 8, which pile one variable on top of another and contrast the extremes, permit us to examine further the interplay of all four variables. We see that their cumulative impact on most dimensions of participation is quite strong.

SUMMARY AND INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS

Orderly experience in the economic system is associated with many social ties which range broadly and at the same time overlap. Men who have predictable careers for at least a fifth of their worklives belong to more organizations, attend more meetings, and average more hours in organizational activity. Their attachments to the local community are also stronger—indicated by support of local schools and, to a lesser extent, by contributions to church and charity.

In both formal and informal contacts, the men of orderly career, more than their colleagues of chaos, are exposed to a great variety of people: the fellow-members they see in clubs and organizations represent many social and economic levels; frequently-seen relatives and close friends are more scattered in space both social and geographical, cutting across neighborhoods, workplaces, occupations, or income brackets. Finally, the total participation pattern of the orderly is more coherent: close friends tend to form a circle and they overlap work contacts. (The data do not support the view that best friends share voluntary association memberships.) There is some indication that these friendships, anchored in workplace, forming a leisure-time clique, may also be longer-lasting.[17]

The effect of work history, while reinforced by other social positions and biographical facts, seems to be distinct. Orderliness, as Table 2 shows, is unrelated to three indicators of early socialization (religion, father's occupation, and intergenerational mobility). It is also unrelated to distance and direction of worklife mobility and portion of worklife self-employed. Finally, work history is clearly a better predictor of participation than income or age.

With respect to associational ties, educational background and work history seem to constitute a developmental sequence. The more education, the more motivation and opportunity for a career both at work and in voluntary organizations—and the higher educated men with orderly careers are apparently making a life plan of both. If we give a man some college, put him on a stable career ladder, and top it off with a nice family income, he will get into the community act. Give a man less than high school, a thoroughly unpredictable sequence of jobs, a family income of five to eight thousand and it is very likely that his ties to the community will be few and weak.

The sub-tables on which Table 3 is based permit some refinement of this rough sketch. Considering both primary and secondary par-

[17] In Table 3, wherever any sizable differences appear, the young orderly more often have stable friendships than the older orderly—until we come to the college-educated, high-income group where the *older* orderly have a 24 per cent edge. Perhaps the young in this category are Organization Men on the make, who have many lightly-held attachments, while their older colleagues are settled into comfortable high-seniority positions requiring little moving about among residences and workplaces.

TABLE 7. PER CENT OF MEN WITH STRONG ATTACHMENTS TO FORMAL ASSOCIATIONS AND COMMUNITY, AND PER CENT DIFFERENCE IN PREDICTED DIRECTION AS WE ADD EDUCATION, INCOME, AND AGE TO AN ORDERLY CAREER

	IA No. of Membs.	IB Freq., Time —Orgs.	IC_1 Sec. Range —Heterog.	IC_2 Sec. Range Inst. Spheres	ID_1 Com. Attachm. —School Tax	ID_2 Com. Attachm. —Charity	N*
Orderly	55%	54%	58%	55%	44%	78%	420
vs.	14%**	13%	6%	..	11%	11%	
Disorderly	41	41	52	55	33	67	223
	$p<.001$***	$p<.01$	$p<.20$	..	$p<.02$	$p<.08$	
College or H.S. Orderly	61	59	58	55	47	79	293
vs.	26	27	4	2	15	18	
Less than H.S. Disorderly	35	32	54	53	32	61	105
College or H.S. High Income Orderly	65	61	57	57	52	84	153
vs.	30	28	—2	1	18	28	
Less than H.S. Low Income Disorderly	35	33	59	56	34	56	79
College, High Income Young Orderly	67	69	50	66	63	87	29
vs.	33	33	—14	9	35	37	
Less than H.S. Young, Low Income Disorderly	34	36	64	57	28	50	44

* N's may vary slightly from column to column due to cases not ascertained on dependent variables.
** Per cent in predicted direction (proportion by which orderly exceed disorderly in high vitality or strong attachment).
*** Chi square test of significance.

TABLE 8. PER CENT OF MEN WITH HIGH VITALITY OF PRIMARY PARTICIPATION, AND PER CENT DIFFERENCE IN PREDICTED DIRECTION AS WE ADD EDUCATION, INCOME, AND AGE TO AN ORDERLY CAREER

	IIA Primary Range	IIB Role Integ. Occup. Com.	IIC Friendship Circles	IID Stability Friendships	IIE Overlapping Friendships and Memberships	N*
Orderly	55%	33%	80%	55%	49%	420
vs.	13%**	10%	6%	6%	2%	
Disorderly	42	23	74	49	47	223
	p<.01***	p<.02	p<.10	p<.20	p<.80	
College or H.S. Orderly	56	30	78	52	49	293
vs.	19	5	4	3	—1	
Less than H.S. Disorderly	37	25	74	49	50	105
College or H.S. High Income Orderly	60	33	78	55	46	153
vs.	19	8	2	6	—6	
Less than H.S. Low Income Disorderly	41	25	76	49	52	79
College, High Income, Young Orderly	67	36	81	45	50	29
vs.	20	11	—5	11	1	
Less than H.S., Young Low Income Disorderly	47	25	86	34	49	44

* N's may vary slightly from column to column due to cases not ascertained on dependent variables.
** Per cent in predicted direction (proportion by which orderly exceed disorderly in high vitality or strong attachment).
*** Chi square test of significance.

ticipation, an orderly career shows its greatest and most consistent effect in columns 1, 3, 8, and 11, and little or no effect or one that is inconsistent in columns 2, 9, and 12. Six of these seven columns are at the extremes of education—"college" vs. "less than high school." But they come in pairs of best and worst at both levels. Orderly careers count among *young* high-income college men, but not among the *older* high-income college men.[18] Orderliness counts among the *young* low-income men who never completed high school but not among their *older* counterparts. Since "old" in this sample is 40–55, the explanation may be life-cycle differences in aspirations and generational differences in experience. In stage of the life cycle, the older men are now in their peak earnings period (whatever the level); their youthful aspirations, if unfulfilled, are now being scaled down. Whether education and income are high or low, the balance between rewards and demands is tolerable.

In political and economic experience, the older group is a product of the Great Depression. These massive forces apparently overcome the effect of orderliness in the career: What's a little unpredictability in jobs, compared to the general chaos of the 1930's? What's a little job chaos compared to the days when they were hard-pressed family men just starting out? Contrast the young: in terms of stage in life cycle, whatever the income or education, their aspirations are likely to soar high in relation to rewards; in terms of generation, their demand for good jobs, stable careers, and general security is as urgent as it is plain. Disorderliness in the work history activates the already established predisposition to pull away from community life—a predisposition rooted in life cycle stage and political generation.

Generational differences may also explain why, among high school graduates, orderliness counts in columns 8 and 6 but not in columns 5 and 7. In relative educational opportunity and attainment, and for their generation, men 40 years and over who graduated from high school are like the young high-income men who have had "some college";[19] their behavior should be similar. Thus orderliness increases the vitality of both primary and secondary participation among the older high-income high school graduates and does something for secondary participation among the older low-income high school graduates. Orderliness has little or no effect on anything among the younger counterparts.

SOME IMPLICATIONS

1. If work role, occupational association, and career are central variables in the sociology of work, we must develop typologies of each and put them to sociological use. The orderliness of the work history—i.e., the degree to which it fits the model of career—is one useful concept in that effort. When the idea of career is taken seriously and applied to large populations, we see that few men are gripped by careers for the entire worklife, only a minority for as much as half the worklife. We see, too, that in the perspective of decades, the pattern and sequence of jobs may have more impact on a man's social life than any one of the many positions he picks up and drops on the way.

2. With regard to participation, the types of social relations covered by "primary" and the types of formal organizations covered by "secondary" (we have tapped everything from a "Marital Therapy Club" to "Joe's Regulars," a semi-formal, bar-connected drinking club)—these are the stuff of the discipline. The labor-leisure study suggests the theoretical relevance and operational feasibility of concepts such as range of participation and role integration. The results support two apparently contradictory assumptions that have been made: that role integration and a wide range of attachments are compatible and have similar effects. There may be an upper limit beyond which

[18] In column 12 there are five exceptions—positive results for two dimensions of secondary attachment and three dimensions of primary relations. Their import is diminished, however, by skewed distributions and a small N.

[19] It is important to remember that "college men" in the middle mass are typically professionals, technicians, or supervisors of the "semi-" variety—and their education is a neat fit. The modal case had one to three years of college; only 30 per cent of the "some college" have a bachelor's degree. It is impressive that merely a taste of college—even among those who did not quite make it through—sorts out the college men from others. Both self-selection and training are doubtless among the causes.

strong role integration blocks exposure to diverse values, interests, and strata, and a broad range of participation produces severe role conflict with a consequent withdrawal, but at the medium levels tapped by our measures, and in the middle mass, coherence and range go together.

3. The data are consistent with a major assumption of the study: with advancing industrialism and urbanism, traditional indicators of social class—present income and occupational category of self or father—no longer discriminate among styles of leisure and degrees of social integration for a growing middle mass. As determinants of social relations, media exposure, and consumption, these "class" variables are becoming less important than career pattern, mobility orientation, and work milieu—and the associated educational experiences.

4. The data are consistent with the guiding hypothesis: chaotic experience in the economic order fosters a retreat from both work and the larger communal life. It may be that the economic and non-economic spheres are so interdependent that this causal formulation cannot be tested—that an orderly career facilitates participation, participation boosts chances for an orderly career, and both are affected by underlying processes of personal self-selection and organizational recruitment. Three considerations, however, suggest that the causal sequence is: education → orderly career → participation, whatever the interaction of these variables once the process is underway. First, preliminary analysis not here reported shows that "pre-occupational leisure training" in adolescence (e.g., parental participation when respondent was a teenager, respondent's own activities at that time) does not affect later participation. Second, several crude indicators of early socialization are unrelated to work history (see Table 2), so the argument that personality pre-dispositions cause both orderliness and participation seems weak. Although an intensive psychological analysis might explain part of the variance, these men are *not* merely recapitulating family history. Finally, the structural forces shaping adult life—economic crises in economy and firm, life cycle stage—seem to account for the reported variations by age, income, and education in the relation of work history to participation.

In so far as job patterns in modern economies become more orderly and more of the population achieves the position of the young, high-income, "some college" men of the middle mass, participation in community life is likely to increase, whatever its quality. It is quite possible, however, that other structural changes—in the content of jobs, the schedule of work, hours of leisure and the agencies that serve it—will offset those labor force trends that make for more predictable careers. It is possible, too, that the generations will again be divided by different trauma: most of the men in our sample did not grow up in the Affluent Society; a little orderliness for them may go further in stimulating community participation than a lot of orderliness will do for a generation with its eyes glued to the television screen and its energies devoted to the ardent consumption of "goodies" pouring from automated industry.

ORGANIZATION MAN AND DUE PROCESS OF LAW *

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The ideology of the "organization man," as it bears on industrial organizations, has at least two interrelated structural sources: (a) the unstructured character of the work of junior and middle managers which is conducive to the use of subjective criteria of performance appraisal, and (b) an authority structure devoid of a mechanism to insure "procedural due process of law." It is hypothesized that this ideology has largely dysfuntional consequences from the viewpoint of the individual executive, the industrial organization, and society as a whole. Two potential countervailing forces are considered: the professionalization of management and the institutionalization of norms of procedural due process. Some research implications of this analysis are noted.

INCREASING usage of the term "organization man" among laymen, or of its technical equivalents [1] among social scientists, suggests that Whyte [2] has identified a significant phenomenon in large organizations. Although he asserts that the phenomenon conveyed by this term is observable in industrial, educational, governmental, and other types of organizations, his point of departure is the industrial organization; and the status of "organization man" that appears to concern him primarily is that of the junior or middle executive.

Unlike the ubiquitous entrepreneur of the nineteenth century whose ideology was rooted in the Protestant Ethic, the ideology of the equally ubiquitous corporate manager of the twentieth century, according to Whyte, is founded on the "Social Ethic." [3] Whereas the entrepreneur was an individualist and an innovator, the organization man is a "conformist," socialized into the values of organizational loyalty, "teamwork," and the avoidance of independent opinions or original ideas. By "Social Ethic," Whyte means, "that contemporary body of thought which makes morally legitimate the pressures of society against the individual. Its major propositions are three: a belief in the group as the source of creativity; a belief in 'belongingness' as the ultimate need of the individual; and a belief in the application of science to achieve the belongingness." [4] This ethic or ideology of the organization man, as we shall refer to it, "rationalizes the organization's demands for fealty and gives those who offer it wholeheartedly a sense of dedication in doing so—*in extremis*, you might say, it converts what would seem in other times a bill of no rights into a restatement of individualism." [5]

The contrast Whyte draws between the Protestant Ethic and the Social Ethic is not unlike Riesman's distinction between "inner-directed" and "other-directed" character structure.[6] It is also related to the analyses by Bendix [7] and Sutton [8] of the entrepre-

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[1] E.g., such concepts related to reference group theory as "local" vs. "cosmopolitan" orientation, in Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, Rev. ed., Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1957, pp. 387–420; "job bureaucrat" vs. "functional bureaucrat," in Leonard Reissman, "A Study of Role Conceptions in a Bureaucracy," *Social Forces*, 27 (March, 1949), pp. 305–310; "institution" vs. "science" orientation, in Robert C. Davis, Glen Mellinger, Donald C. Pelz and Howard Baumgartel, *Interpersonal Factors in Research*, Part 1, Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, 1954, pp. 5ff.

[2] William H. Whyte, *Organization Man*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1956.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 4–22.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

[6] David Riesman in collaboration with Reuel Denney and Nathan Glazer, *Lonely Crowd*, New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1950.

[7] Reinhard Bendix, *Work and Authority in Industry*, New York: John Wiley, 1956.

[8] Francis X. Sutton, *et al.*, *The American Busi-*

neurial versus the managerial ideology. The historic warrant for the assertion advanced by Whyte and others about the transition from the Protestant to the Social Ethic is a question that transcends the scope of this paper. Nor shall we be concerned with appraising the evidence for the currency of the ideology of the organization man among junior and middle executives.[9] Rather, our purpose is to analyze some social-structural sources and consequences of this ideology.

A CRITICISM OF WHYTE'S THESIS

Whyte, like Weber, deplores the trend toward the bureaucratization of society and the restrictions this imposes upon the individual. Unlike Weber, however, Whyte advocates a deliberate course of action which he urges upon the organization man. While disclaiming that his book is a plea for nonconformity, he nevertheless exhorts the organization man to resist the pressures of the organization even if it means the loss of his job.[10]

Although he repeatedly acknowledges that the organization is the creation of man and can be changed by man,[11] he virtually never criticizes the architecture, so to speak, of the organization; nor does he address any proposals for reform to the "architects" of the organization, but rather to the individual organization man. As he puts it, "The fault is not in organization, in short; it is in our worship of it [12] . . . To say that the incubus lies in organization itself would be partially correct, but it would also be somewhat futile." [13] Obviously, it need not be "futile" if the structure of the organization can be designed so as to counteract the ideology of the organization man.

Whyte's effort to eliminate the evils of the ideology of the organization man by exhorting him to fight the organization is misplaced. Assuming that the ideology of the organization man is as pervasive a phenomenon in industrial and other types of organizations as Whyte claims, a logically prior question is one pertaining to the social-structural sources of this ideology.

STRUCTURAL SOURCES OF THE IDEOLOGY OF THE ORGANIZATION MAN

The growth of the ideology of the organization man, in part, may be viewed as a product of the historical transformation of the structure of industrial management. With the progress of industrialism, owner-managers have been steadily replaced by salaried managers.[14] Instead of relying largely on inheritance and wealth as a mode of recruitment, as was the case when owner-managers or entrepreneurs dominated industry, corporate managers are typically nonowners who are recruited, presumably, because of their managerial ability and skills.

The work of management, however, is not presently founded on a distinct, recognizable and transmissible body of knowledge and skills. This means, among other things, that managerial performance cannot be objectively evaluated. In this respect, management differs from virtually all other occupations in an industrial organization. Whereas manual occupations involve a body of well-defined skills which readily lend themselves to appraisal, this is not true of the management occupation. Professional occupations in an industrial organization, such as engineers and scientists, may be viewed as occupying an intermediate position—on a hypothetical scale of objective-subjective criteria of performance appraisal—between the occupations of manual workers and management. Both the high order of complexity of the body of knowledge and skills of a profession and the difficulty of evaluating the end product complicate the process of performance appraisal. In contrast, the relatively low order of complexity of the knowledge and skills required of a manual occupation facilitates an objective evaluation of the end product.

In the absence of objective criteria for evaluating the performance of junior and middle management, subjective criteria tend

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ness Creed, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1956.

[9] The available evidence for this facet of Whyte's thesis appears to be largely impressionistic and literary.

[10] Whyte, *op. cit.*, pp. 10–12.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

[12] *Ibid.* A similar view is expressed by Crawford H. Greenwalt, *The Uncommon Man: The Individual in the Organization*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1959, p. 28, who otherwise appears to take issue with Whyte's thesis.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 217.

[14] Cf. Bendix, *op. cit.*, pp. 226–244.

to predominate, such as degree of loyalty to the objectives of the organization.[15] The value placed on organizational loyalty is due both to the lack of professionalization of management and to the need for a principle to insure the recruitment of trustworthy managers who will participate in critical decision-making or in the execution of decisions, in spite of their owning a small amount of stocks or none at all in the enterprise. As a student of business administration puts it:

> "There is little knowledge as to the particular abilities which are required for a manager to act successfully in a specific situation. Even where certain abilities have been ascertained as desirable, it is seldom that they can be expressed in terms which are quantifiable. They are seldom established on the basis of what the man can do; rather they are usually expressed in terms of what he *is*, e.g., sincere, capable, loyal, patient, trained, experienced, etc. These attributes are difficult to relate to later performance, however measured." [16]

Another consequence of the absence of objective and rational criteria is the tendency for a system of "sponsorship" or patronage to develop. Organization men are motivated to become the protégés of superordinates in the hope that they will "sponsor" them for promotion to a higher level. A system of sponsorship, however, is fraught with insecurity. Problems develop when a sponsor loses his position of authority because of organizational changes, retirement, resignation, etc., or when a protégé is dropped by a sponsor.[17]

In short, one of the major sources of the ideology of the organization man lies in the structure of the management occupation in industrial organizations.

A second and closely related source of the ideology of the organization man is the nature of the hierarchical structure of corporate management. The immediate superior of the junior or middle manager has the authority to issue various types of orders as well as to appraise his subordinate's performance and recommend negative or positive sanctions. Thus, in effect, he is in a position to determine his subordinate's fate in the organization,[18] with the latter having no protection against arbitrary and capricious authority. In the event of a conflict between a junior or middle executive and his superior, there is no institutionalized procedure for impartially adjudicating the dispute. In the absence of an impersonal procedure which a set of norms provides for resolving conflicts, the superior may exercise power or personal influence instead of legitimate authority. This is in sharp contrast with the case of a manual worker vis-à-vis a foreman in an organization in which there is a collective bargaining agreement between management and a trade union. Given such an agreement, a multi-step grievance procedure culminating in arbitration is provided for resolving conflicts between the manual worker and his superior. This procedure, in effect, limits the authority of the worker's superordinate by providing the worker with a court of appeals, so to speak. The established right to appeal a governmental decision adversely affecting one's interests and the right to a fair and impartial hearing are important procedural components of the constitutional guarantees of "due process of law." [19]

By comparison with the unionized manual worker, whose occupational rights are protected by the grievance machinery provided by the collective bargaining agreement, the junior or middle manager is at a distinct disadvantage: lacking the right of appeal, he is at the mercy of the decisions of his immediate superior who, in his decisions regarding his subordinates, may function simultaneously as judge, jury, and prosecutor.[20] From this

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[15] For those in middle management for whom cost accounting yardsticks are applied, objective criteria are available but whether they are the exclusive or principal bases for evaluation is an empirical question.

[16] Paul Kircher, "Measurement and Managerial Decisions," in C. West Churchman and Philburn Ratoosh, editors, *Measurement: Definition and Theories*, New York: John Wiley, 1959, p. 71.

[17] Norman H. Martin and Anselm L. Strauss, "Patterns of Mobility within Industrial Organizations," *Journal of Business*, 29 (April, 1956), pp. 105–107.

[18] Cf. Thomas L. Whisler, "Performance Appraisal and the Organization Man," *Journal of Business*, 31 (January, 1958), pp. 19–27.

[19] For a discussion of the distinction between procedural and substantive due process of law, see Morris D. Forkosch, "American Democracy and Procedural Due Process," *Brooklyn Law Review*, 24 (April, 1958), pp. 183–190. For a further sociological analysis of procedural due process, see William M. Evan, "Conflict and the Emergence of Norms," *Human Organization*, 19 (Winter, 1960–61), pp. 172–173, and other papers in preparation.

[20] "There is no final escape from dependency if

perspective, the organization man appears to be a member of a "new proletariat" in present-day American industry. He does not have the protection of an outside occupational organization, such as unionized employees do; nor does he have a code of professional ethics to govern his relationships with his superordinates, his peers, and his subordinates; nor does he have the protection of "colleague control," as professionals do, to counteract "hierarchical control." Since the nature of his work makes objective evaluation of performance difficult, and since he lacks the right of appeal, he is, therefore, highly motivated to fulfill his superior's expectations—even at the expense of his own ideas and wishes—in order to insure a positive appraisal and the associated rewards. However, to fulfill his superior's expectations, which are often ambiguous, he learns to avoid any actions which he suspects might displease his superior. Such actions may range from joining or not joining the Masons [21] to the choice of style of clothing. The organization man's process of adapting himself to the expectations and behavior patterns of his superior and of relinquishing, if necessary, his own preferences and judgments may be likened to the conformity patterns experimentally observed by Sherif and Asch. Subjects faced with an ambiguous and unstructured situation—as in the case of the auto-kinetic effect—tend to adjust their statements of perceptions to one another; [22] and some subjects faced with an unambiguous and structured situation relinquish their true statement of perceptions of reality in favor of a false statement of perceptions made by others.[23]

In brief, the ideology of the organization man has at least two interrelated sources: occupational and organizational. Occupationally, the amorphous character of managerial work encourages the use of subjective criteria for evaluating performance, including a pattern of sponsorship or patronage and a concern for the organizational loyalty of subordinates. Organizationally, in the absence of norms of procedural due process of law, such as the right to appeal the decision of a superordinate, junior and middle managers are encouraged to become "conformists," developing an over-sensitivity to the expectations of superordinates in order to insure positive appraisal and corresponding rewards. Otherwise put, the ideology of organization man is an adaptation to certain normless elements in the work situation of junior and middle managers.

SOME CONSEQUENCES OF THE IDEOLOGY OF THE ORGANIZATION MAN

The consequences of the ideology of the organization man are presumably—in the absence of systematic data—largely dysfunctional from the viewpoint of the individual executive as well as from the viewpoint of the industrial organization and society at large. Several illustrative and hypothetical dysfunctions will be considered.

From the standpoint of the individual executive as well as the organization, the ideology tends to inhibit original and creative effort which, by definition, departs from prevailing practices, and hence runs the risk of not being approved by a superordinate. Accordingly, the industrial organization must increasingly rely on staff specialists for new ideas rather than on line management. This entails a loss to the organization of a potential source of valuable innovations—which is not to gainsay the advantages of having staff specialists concern themselves principally with problems of innovation.

Another consequence of this ideology for the individual as well as for the organization is the paradoxical combination of high job immobility with high job insecurity. By definition, the organization man's loyalty induces him to devote his entire career to his organization. He has a "local" rather than a "cosmopolitan" orientation; in other words, his

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the superior is the ultimate authority, with no appeal beyond his interpretation or ruling. Unless there is some outside authority to which the subordinate can appeal, he never can be entirely safe in his dependency or quite able to develop a real independence." Mason Haire, *Psychology in Management*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1956, p. 67.

[21] Cf. Melville Dalton, *Men Who Manage*, New York: John Wiley, 1959, pp. 178–181.

[22] Muzafer Sherif, "Group Influences upon the Formation of Norms and Attitudes," in Eleanor E. Maccoby, Theodore M. Newcomb, Eugene L. Hartley, editors, *Readings in Social Psychology*, New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1958, pp. 219–232.

[23] Solomon E. Asch, "Effects of Group Pressure upon the Modification and Distortion of Judgments," in Maccoby, Newcomb and Hartley, *op. cit.*, pp. 174–183.

reference group is his organization rather than the occupation of management which transcends a given organization. This tends to result in a high degree of job immobility among executive personnel. From the point of view of the organization, low turnover may be highly advantageous, provided the manager's performance is judged to contribute to the organization's effectiveness. In the event that his performance is judged to interfere with the organization's attainment of its goals, the organization may transfer him to an innocuous position, induce him to resign, or dismiss him.[24] In the absence of due process of law for junior and middle managers, and we might even add top managers, those who are judged undesirable for whatever reasons—relevant or irrelevant—may be discharged without an opportunity for a fair hearing.

Another consequence of the ideology which is dysfunctional for the organization is the tendency of the organization man to restrict upward communication to material which is calculated to enhance his self-image and simultaneously not threaten the superordinate in any way. On the basis of studies of experimentally created hierarchies, we would expect that organization men who are upwardly mobile—and this is presumably true of the bulk of junior and middle managers—would be strongly motivated to censor upward communication to insure positive appraisal and corresponding rewards.[25] Such action, of course, complicates the planning and coordination problems of top management.

Yet another effect of the ideology on the individual executive, related to job insecurity and the pressures for restriction of upward communication, is the tendency for discrepancies to develop between overt and covert behavior. Covert nonconformity occurs provided the probability of the discovery of such action is low. Where covert nonconformity does not occur, we may expect to find covert disbelief in the legitimacy of the authority exercised by the superior together with overt behavioral conformity. The resulting degree of cognitive dissonance, due to the discrepancy between overt conformity and covert disbelief, on the part of the organization man may be considerable. To reduce the resulting dissonance, the organization man can convince himself that his overt behavior is quite satisfactory after all, i.e., by changing his cognitions so that they are consonant with his overt behavior.[26]

The effect of the ideology of the organization man on society as a whole is probably more elusive than its effects on the individual manager and on the industrial organization, though nonetheless real. As a result of the premium put on cautious behavior calculated not to offend the preferences and expectations of a superior, the organization man may tend to transfer this behavior pattern and principle of behavior to his community life and engage in only "conformist" activity. This approach to community life lessens the chances of successfully coming to grips with new and complex social problems requiring innovative rather than "conformist" behavior. The consequences of this ideology for society as a whole may be especially marked in view of the recent efforts by corporations to encourage management to increase their participation in community affairs.

A related effect of the ideology may be observable in family values and child-rearing patterns of the organization man. The values of seeking approval from superiors, of "teamwork," and of "togetherness" may be transplanted from the corporation to the family.[27]

POTENTIAL COUNTERVAILING FORCES TO THE IDEOLOGY OF THE ORGANIZATION MAN

Two potential countervailing forces to the ideology of the organization man are the institutionalization of norms of procedural due process of law for corporate management and the professionalization of management.

As yet it is difficult to discern any evidence

[24] Cf. Perrin Stryker, "How to Fire an Executive," *Fortune*, 50 (October, 1954), pp. 116–117, 178–192.

[25] Cf. Harold H. Kelley, "Communication in Experimentally Created Hierarchies," *Human Relations*, 4 (February, 1951), pp. 39–56; Arthur R. Cohen, "Upward Communication in Experimentally Created Hierarchies," *Human Relations*, 11 (February, 1958), pp. 41–53.

[26] Leon Festinger, *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance*, Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson and Co., 1957, pp. 1–31.

[27] Daniel R. Miller and Guy E. Swanson, *The Changing American Parent: A Study in the Detroit Area*, New York: John Wiley, 1958.

for the institutionalization of norms of due process within corporate management. It is possible, however, that such a development may be stimulated by the need for resolving conflicts between staff and line management. The high frequency of such conflicts, in the absence of unionization among staff specialists, may be conducive to the growth of norms of procedural due process. Such a development could pave the way for the extension of this institution to all corporate management.

Another source of influence favoring an extension of procedural due process is external to the corporation. There is a growing awareness of the need for restricting the powers of the corporation. In particular, it is being argued that the courts and the legislatures should extend constitutional guarantees of procedural due process to the corporation [28] or that corporations should develop their own "supplementary constitutional systems." [29] The venerable doctrine of due process, which dates back at least to the Magna Carta, includes a complex of procedural safeguards against the exercise of arbitrary and unlimited power.[30] These norms seek to insure that disputes are resolved impartially and fairly. This complex of norms includes the right of all parties to a conflict to be heard, the right to confront witnesses, to cross-examine them, and to introduce evidence in one's behalf. Incorporated in the Bill of Rights in 1791, the Due Process Clause protects the citizen against the arbitrary exercise of power by the Federal Government. These rights were extended, about 75 years later, via the Fourteenth Amendment, to citizens vis-à-vis their State Governments. Since then, this doctrine has diffused or is in the process of being diffused to other spheres of government; and according to Berle and others it is also likely to diffuse to the realm of private organizations.[31] Thus, it is possible that pressures, internal and external to the corporation, may develop to institutionalize norms of procedural due process for all employees who come under its jurisdiction.[32]

Another potential countervailing force to the ideology of the organization man is the professionalization of management. In spite of the plethora of discussions for several decades about the professionalization of management, there has been very little progress in this direction.[33] The term "professional manager" at present largely denotes a salaried manager—as distinct from an owner-manager—rather than a manager who pursues his occupation with the aid of a developed and acknowledged body of transmissible knowledge and skills and a code of professional ethics.

Potential pressures for professionalization of management stem largely from ongoing technological changes. In the past, technological changes in industry have "machined out" various manual occupations. However, the age of computer technology and operations research may mean that many jobs now performed by junior and middle executives may, in the future, likewise be "machined out." [34] The future executive, as has been suggested, will probably require a body of technical knowledge and skills in addition to having an "over-all view" of the organization's needs, of being a "generalist," and of

[28] Adolph A. Berle, Jr., *The 20th Century Capitalist Revolution*, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1954, pp. 77ff.

[29] Benjamin M. Selekman, "Power and Morality in Business," in Dan H. Fenn, Jr., *Management's Mission in a New Society*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1959, pp. 317–319.

[30] Rodney L. Mott, *Due Process of Law*, Indianapolis, Ind.: Bobbs Merrill Co., 1926, pp. 1–29.

[31] Berle, *op. cit.*, pp. 77ff.; Abram Chayes, "The Modern Corporation and the Rule of Law," in Edward S. Mason, editor, *The Corporation in Modern Society*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960, pp. 25–45; Arthur S. Miller, "Constitutionalizing the Corporation," *PROD*, 3, (September, 1959), pp. 10–12; also "Private Governments and the Constitution," Fund for the Republic Occassional Paper, 1959; W. H. Ferry, *et al.*, *The Corporation and the Economy*, Santa Barbara, Calif.: Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, 1959, pp. 12–13, 81ff.

[32] At least one spokesman for management has expressed his opposition to any such development. See Greenwalt, *op. cit.*, pp. 24–26.

[33] See, for example, Henry C. Metcalf, editor, *Business Management as a Profession*, Chicago: A. W. Shaw Co., 1927; Howard R. Bowen, "Business Management: A Profession?" *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 297 (January, 1955), pp. 112–117.

[34] Cf. Russell L. Ackoff, "Automatic Management: A Forecast and Its Educational Implications," *Management Science*, 2 (October, 1955), pp. 55–60; Harold J. Leavitt and Thomas L. Whisler, "Management in the 1980's," *Harvard Business Review*, 36 (November–December, 1958), pp. 41–48.

having "human relations skills."[35] As the knowledge and skills of future management become more complex, training for this occupation will probably become more intensive and prolonged, viz., more professionalized. A set of objective and technical standards for appraising performance may thus develop; appropriate professional organizations may then emerge; methods of colleague control may grow; and, in general, a code of ethics may come into being to cope with conflicts among managers and to govern their relationships with other occupational and interest groups inside and outside the corporation.

Either of the two potential countervailing forces to the ideology of the organization man may be conducive to the development of the other. As between these two possible developments it appears more likely that professionalization of management will be conducive to the institutionalization of norms of due process than the reverse.

Short of the institutionalization of the norms of procedural due process for junior and middle management, several other mechanisms may upon inquiry prove to have an equivalent function. The first is the institutionalization of the right of job transfer within a company. This would enable a manager, finding himself in an unsatisfactory authority relationship with his superior, to overcome this problem without suffering the consequences of adjustment to an arbitrary superior.

A related mechanism is "job rotation." To the extent that this becomes an institutionalized procedure, if affords the executive an opportunity to manifest his abilities to more than one superior and in different organizational situations, which in turn increases the chances of a more objective appraisal of his talents.

A third mechanism which might be a functional substitute for the norms of due process is an increase in the opportunities for intercompany mobility. One of the major impediments to such mobility is the absence of vested pension rights. This discourages job changes because of the financial loss entailed. The vesting of pension rights for executives —such as already exists among university professors—if it should ever develop, would probably betoken a significant measure of progress toward the professionalization of management. Only an occupation with "cosmopolitan" values would encourage the institutionalization of such a practice.

[35] Ackoff, *op. cit.*

RESEARCH IMPLICATIONS

The virtual absence of norms of procedural due process of law for corporate management obviously makes field research of an observational or documentary nature difficult. However, the literature of industrial sociology provides at least one significant "deviant case" worthy of intensive investigation. According to Elliot Jaques, the Glacier Metals Company in London has an appeals system which covers all the employees of this organization.[36] An understanding of the structure and functioning of this unique mechanism of due process of law may throw light on various problems, such as the preconditions for the emergence of such an institution in industry as a whole, and the relationship between the ideology of the organization man and due process of law.

In addition to an analysis of this deviant case—and the heuristic potential of deviant case analysis has been established in the masterly study of the International Typographical Union by Lipset, Trow and Coleman[37]—three other types of research are possible. First, since procedural due process is institutionalized in all federal civil service organizations, a comparison between a government agency similar in function to an industrial organization, which lacks due process, would be instructive. Possible candidates for such a comparative study are a government research laboratory and an industrial research laboratory.

Second, a field experiment on due process would obviously be of great value. There are enough precedents for field experiments in industrial organizations, such as those conducted by Coch and French, Jackson, Morse and Reimer, and Ross, to make this approach feasible.[38]

[36] Elliott Jaques, *The Changing Culture of a Factory*, London: Tavistock Publications Ltd., 1951, pp. 51–53, 61–63.

[37] S. M. Lipset, Martin A. Trow, and James S. Coleman, *Union Democracy*, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1956.

[38] Lester Coch and J. R. P. French, Jr., "Over-

Finally, laboratory experimentation is also feasible. Implicit in our analysis is the hypothesis that there is a negative correlation between the degree of objectivity of criteria for evaluating performance and the tendency to conform to a superior's expectations and preferences. Does this hypothesis hold true under an experimentally-manipulated condition involving a mechanism of procedural due process of law, e.g., when subjects are granted the right to appeal the decision of a superior? This hypothesis is now being tested in a laboratory experiment simulating a set of relevant organizational properties.[39]

coming Resistance to Change," *Human Relations*, 1 (August, 1948), pp. 512–532; J. M. Jackson, "The Effect of Changing the Leadership of Small Work Groups," *Human Relations*, 6 (February, 1953), pp. 25–44; Nancy C. Morse and Everett Reimer, "The Experimental Change of a Major Organizational Variable," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 52 (January, 1956), pp. 120–129; Ian C. Ross, *Role Specialization in Supervision*, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 1957.

[39] This type of laboratory experiment, unlike most studies in the literature on small group research, entails the explicit simulation of status relationships and other organizational properties.

See, for example, Donald F. Clark and Russell L. Ackoff, "A Report on Some Organizational Experiments," *Operations Research*, 7 (May–June, 1959), pp. 279–293. For another example of a laboratory simulation of a facet of organizational structure, see William M. Evan and Morris Zelditch, Jr., "A Laboratory Experiment on Bureaucratic Authority," *American Sociological Review* (forthcoming).

FORMAL ORGANIZATION AND PROMOTION IN A PRE-INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY

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Recent sociological research on formal organization has concentrated on modern, Western, highly industrialized societies. As a result, an important part of Max Weber's theory of bureaucracy—that dealing with "pre-bureaucratic" forms of administration—has been seriously neglected. Patterns of promotion in a sample of nineteenth century Chinese government officials are analyzed in terms of Weber's hypotheses on advancement in pre-bureaucratic systems of administration. Advancement is shown to be a function of both "bureaucratic" and "extra-bureaucratic" variables, but multiple correlation analysis shows advancement to be more strongly related to the latter variables than to the former. Further comparative research—both historical and contemporary—is needed to test the generality of this conclusion. Modern bureaucracies in industrialized societies cannot be assumed a priori to have a greater primacy of bureaucratic, rather than extra-bureaucratic, influences in all aspects of their organization.

INTRODUCTION

RECENT sociological research on formal organization has concentrated on modern, Western, highly industrialized societies. As a result, an important part of Max Weber's theory of bureaucracy—that dealing with "pre-bureaucratic" forms of administration [1]—has been seriously neglected. It is true that research on contemporary bureaucracies has already contributed important refinements and extensions of Weberian analysis. However, parallel developments in the study of pre-bureaucratic forms of administration are needed. This should include the analysis of formal organization (a) in the *historical* empires and states, e.g., ancient Egypt and Rome, Imperial China, Sasanid Iran, the Byzantine Empire, etc.; and (b) in *contemporary* less-industrialized and non-Western societies. The present study is of the first type, and concerns the problem of the

[1] Traditional and charismatic forms of administration were seen as pre-bureaucratic. The subtypes of traditional administration were gerontocracy, patriarchalism, patrimonialism, sultanism, and feudalism. See Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, New York: Oxford, 1947, pp. 324–386; *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, New York: Oxford, 1946, pp. 196–264; "Die drei reinen typen der legitimen Herrshaft," in *Staatssoziologie*, Berlin: Duncker and Humblot, 1956, pp. 99–110.

determinants of advancement in the nineteenth century Chinese Imperial bureaucracy.[2]

DETERMINANTS OF ADVANCEMENT

A formal organization, whether modern (rational-legal) or traditional, is hierarchically organized. Members of the administrative staff move "up" and "down" this hierarchy over time. Our dependent variable is the *differential advancement* observable among the members of any administrative staff. The higher the rank reached by officials, the greater their degree of advancement. Our independent variables are those factors that determine advancement, that explain differentials in rank reached among officials.

For Weber, what were these factors? In the *modern bureaucratic* type of administration, "There is a system of 'promotion' according to seniority or to achievement, or both."[3] We shall refer to seniority and achievement as *bureaucratic* determinants of advancement. In the pure type of *traditional* administration, on the other hand, "There is no regular system of appointment and promotion on the basis of free contract."[4] "There is such a thing as 'promotion' only according to the arbitrary grace of the chief."[5] In the sub-type of traditional administration of which Weber saw China as an example—patrimonial-praebendal administration[6]—promotion could depend upon "a certain social status . . . and . . . the corresponding sense of honor of a distinctive social group."[7] The consequence would be a "guild-like closure of officialdom typically found in patrimonial and . . . praebendal officialdoms of the past."[8]

Thus far, one might conclude that, for Weber, promotion in modern bureaucratic administration was primarily dependent upon seniority or achievement, but primarily dependent upon factors *other than* seniority and achievement in traditional administrations. Yet this conclusion would do violence to Weber's analysis. A closer reading of Weber reveals three important points. First, he *qualified* his characterization of traditional administration: promotion occurs only according to the arbitrary grace of the chief "*except under certain circumstances when the administrative staff is organized on a basis of praebends.*"[9] Second, he made the empirical observation that in patrimonial-praebendal administration "it is common for slaves and freedmen to rise even to the highest positions."[10] To the extent that this is so, patrimonial administration does not exhibit a "guild-like closure." Third, slaves and freedmen might frequently rise to the highest positions because in patrimonial administrations "it is possible to maintain a system of promotion on a basis of seniority or of particular objectively determined achievements,"[11] just as in modern bureaucracies.

Weber suggested, then, that seniority and achievement could operate strongly enough even in traditional patrimonial bureaucracies to ensure men of varying social origins relatively *equal* access to high office, once they had entered officialdom in the first place. In our terminology, advancement in both modern and patrimonial administration might be *bureaucratically*-determined. All determinants of advancement other than seniority and achievement will be referred to as *extra-bureaucratic* determinants. In the analysis to follow, the following variables will be treated as extra-bureaucratic determinants of advancement: (1) The *purchase* of substantive posts by officials. The sale of office was sanctioned by the formal structure of the Chinese bureaucracy; yet purchase is treated as an extra-bureaucratic determinant of advancement because it represents the intrusion of officials' *pecuniary* status, and not necessarily

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[2] For earlier phases of the writer's research in this area, see Robert M. Marsh, "Bureaucratic Constraints on Nepotism in the Ch'ing Period," *Journal of Asian Studies*, 19 (February, 1960), pp. 117–133, and *The Mandarins: Circulation of Elites in China*. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1961.

[3] Weber, 1947, *op. cit.*, p. 334.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 343.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 345.

[6] In patrimonial administration officials have the status of personal dependents of the emperor or chief, in contrast to feudalism, where there is a relationship of fealty between the ruler and his relatively autonomous, self-equipped vassals. Weber defined "praebendal" as the support of the administrative staff largely by the private appropriation of fees and taxes derived from office, rather than by a formally fixed salary.

[7] Weber, 1947, *op. cit.*, p .351.

[8] Weber, 1946, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

[9] Weber, 1947, *op. cit.*, p. 345.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 343.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 351.

their seniority or achievement. (2) *Family background,* on the assumption that the social origins of officials and their achievements in office vary more or less independently of one another.[12] (3) *Age of officials,* on the assumption, again, that this varies more or less independently of their achievement in office. (4) *Method of recruitment* to the bureaucracy, whenever this entails special favors, preferential treatment, instead of the universal application of achievement norms.

It should be clear that these variables are not *extra*-bureaucratic determinants because they stem only from outside the organization; they may also stem from *within* the organization in question. Such variables are extra-bureaucratic in the sense that they are *extraneous* to the two *bureaucratic* determinants of promotion—seniority and achievement. This distinction accords well with that current in the field of formal organization, in which patterned deviations from the formal structure or rules are seen as stemming from either the external adaptation of the organization, or from the internal, informal structure of the organization, or both.[13] It should also be made clear that the distinction between bureaucratic and extra-bureaucratic determinants is an analytical one, drawn by the scientific observer. It need not correspond to officials' subjective definitions of "legitimate" and "illegitimate" influences on advancement. The influence of purchase or family background is, for reasons stated above, an extra-bureaucratic influence, whether or not the officials in question viewed it as a legitimate influence.

Weber did not specify the relative impact of these bureaucratic and extra-bureaucratic variables upon advancement in the Chinese bureaucracy. He left this question open, of course, because he simply lacked the necessary empirical data. If we examine the formal norms concerning personnel and promotions during the Ch'ing dynasty (1644–1912), it appears that advancement was bureaucratically rather than extra-bureaucratically determined, in the main. The formal norms required that merit ratings be drawn up triennially for all officials. In any given year, the only officials eligible for the normal one-half rank promotion were those with *both* seniority and a first-class recommendation from their superiors and from the Board of Civil Office and the Censorate. Promotions occurred within a nine-rank hierarchy, with the highest posts in rank one and the lowest in rank nine. Each rank was divided into two grades, designated 1a, 1b, 2a, 2b, etc. Officials who had already attained the seniority of, say, a 5a-rank post were eligible for promotion to a post one-half rank higher, i.e., to a 4b-rank post, *providing* that they also had received a high rating on the formal criteria of merit: personal conduct *(shou),* ability *(ts'ai),* service record *(cheng),* and were not overage or infirm.

To what extent did the *actual* patterns of promotion in the Ch'ing bureaucracy reflect the primacy of these formal rules of seniority and merit? Alternatively, to what extent did promotion and advancement reflect the primacy of extra-bureaucratic determinants, such as family background and purchase of office? Previous research on this problem has dealt, for the most part, only with individuals or specific cliques or factions of officials. Other studies have provided valuable insights, but have dealt with earlier periods of Chinese history, with high officials rather than a cross-section of officials of all ranks, or with status mobility in the examination system rather than officialdom *per se.*[14] The

[12] There is some evidence that this assumption is valid for Chinese officialdom. Outstanding officials (as judged by expert raters) were not more likely to come from privileged families than were the general run of officials.

[13] See F. J. Roethlisberger and W. J. Dickson, *Management and the Worker,* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939; Philip Selznick, *TVA and the Grass Roots,* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949; R. K. Merton, *et al., Reader in Bureaucracy, Glencoe,* Illinois: The Free Press, 1952, several papers.

[14] K. A. Wittfogel, *New Light on Chinese Society,* New York: International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1938; K. A. Wittfogel and C. S. Feng, *History of Chinese Society, Liao, 907–1125,* Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1949; K. A. Wittfogel, *Oriental Despotism,* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957; E. A. Kracke, Jr., "Family vs. Merit in the Civil Service Examinations under the Empire," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies,* 10 (September, 1947), pp. 103–123; W. Eberhard, *Conquerors and Rulers,* Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1952; O. B. van der Sprenkel, "High Officials of the Ming," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies,* 14 (Part I, 1952), pp. 87–

TABLE 1. UNIVERSE AND SAMPLE DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICIALS BY RANK

	Provincial Officials: All China*	Provincial Officials: T'ung-Kuan Lu Samples**						All T'ung-Kuan Lu Samples
		1778	1831	1837	1859	1871	1879	
Rank								
1–4	7%	..	10%	14%	11%	18%	22%	13%
5–6	17%	..	25%	21%	14%	33%	19%	20%
7–Unclassed	76%	100%	65%	65%	75%	49%	59%	67%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No.	20,471	38	110	313	302	164	93	1,020

* Based on estimate by Chang Chung-li, *The Gentry in 19th Century China*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1953. This estimate includes all civil and military officials in the 18 provinces, but not Bannermen.

** No information on rank was available for 27 officials.

present paper is a preliminary report of my attempt to analyze systematically the advancement of all ranks of officialdom.

METHOD AND DATA

A sample was drawn of 1,047 officials from the Chinese government directories known as *T'ung Kuan Lu*. Of the total sample, 39 officials were listed in the 1778 Shantung Province *T'ung Kuan Lu*, the remaining 1,008 officials appeared in directories for the period 1831–1879. Historical conditions varied during this period, but for statistical reasons and for reasons of space will not be considered here. The sample will be treated as a whole rather than broken down into small time-periods.

Table 1 shows that the sample closely approximates the actual hierarchic distribution of provincial officialdom in the nineteenth century.

114; Ping-ti Ho, "Social Mobility in China, 1368–1911," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 1 (June, 1959), pp. 330–359.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Influence of Bureaucratic Variables on Advancement. (1) *Seniority.* There is a correlation between seniority and advancement ($\sqrt{T_b}=.233$).[15] Table 2 shows that the longer officials served, the more likely they were to be promoted to a higher rank post. (Rank one through four posts are *high* posts, rank five and six posts are *middle-rank* posts, and rank seven through nine and "unclassed" *(wei ju liu)* posts are *low* posts.)

(2) *Achievement.* Our only independent measure of achievement is highly unsatisfac-

[15] Tau-$_b$ measures the degree of relationship between variables, and is useful when comparing two or more tables with varying numbers of rows and columns. It was introduced by Goodman and Kruskal, in "Measures of Association for Cross Classifications," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 49 (December, 1954), pp. 732–764. Like other measures, T_b varies between +1.0 and −1.0, but since T_b shows a lower degree of association than other measures, e.g., Pearson's C, the square root of T_b is more comparable to other standard measures and is used here.

TABLE 2. THE RELATION BETWEEN SENIORITY AND ADVANCEMENT

	Amount of Seniority					
	0–12 years		13–24 years		Over 24 years	
Rank Reached	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
1–4	9	3%	54	19%	43	26%
5–6	35	14%	66	23%	49	29%
7–Unclassed	214	83%	163	58%	75	45%
Total	258	100%	283	100%	167	100%

TABLE 3. THE RELATION BETWEEN AGE AT CHIN-SHIH AND ADVANCEMENT

	Age When *Chin-shih* Was Received					
	Under 25		26–35		Over 35	
Rank Reached	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
1–4	6	43%	25	31%	5	10%
5–6	2	14%	10	12%	7	14%
7–Unclassed	6	43%	46	57%	39	76%
Total	14	100%	81	100%	51	100%

tory.[16] It is the *age* of a man when he became a *chin shih* ("advanced scholar"), i.e., when he attained the highest level in the competitive examination system. (Becoming a *chin shih* was one of the most prestigeful ways of securing initial appointment to the bureaucracy.) Our assumption, which may be quite erroneous, is that the earlier in life a man succeeded in attaining the *chin shih*, the greater would be his subsequent achievement as an official. Table 3 shows that among the 146 officials who became *chin shih*—16 per cent of the total sample—there was a correlation between "achievement" and advancement ($\sqrt{T_b}=.210$). The earlier in life one became a *chin shih*, the more likely one was to reach high-rank posts, and vice versa.

Influence of Extra-Bureaucratic Variables on Advancement. (1) *Purchase of substantive posts.* Weber noted how widespread this phenomenon was in traditional administrations: in antiquity, priesthoods were sold at auction; appropriation of office by pledging was significant in the Papal States, and in the Parlements of France as late as the eighteenth century; the purchase of officers' commissions continued in the British army well into the nineteenth century.[17]

In early Ch'ing China only relatively empty titles and honors, and some low posts, could be purchased. By the mid-nineteenth century provincial ranks and even substantive posts *(shih kuan)* from the fourth rank down could be purchased.[18] A commoner, for example, in 1843 could purchase the fourth rank post of Circuit Intendant for 30,000 taels silver.[19]

Table 4 shows that officials who purchased middle-rank posts were more likely than those who purchased only low posts to reach high posts. Indeed, the latter group was less likely to reach high posts than were

[16] Even in modern bureaucracies the achievement or performance of personnel is one of the most difficult variables to measure, both practically and theoretically. Weber could speak of "objectivity determined achievement" in his ideal-type analysis, but few administrators or students of organization are sanguine on this matter. L. D. White concludes that none of the forms of merit-ratings yet devised, except production records for manual-mechanical operations, has eliminated subjective judgments. *Introduction to the Study of Public Administration*, New York: Macmillan, 1949.

[17] Weber, 1947, *op. cit.*, p. 350.

[18] Hsu Tao-ling, *Outline Essay on the History of Chinese Law*, Taipei, 1953, pp. 131–132 (in Chinese).

[19] Hsieh Pao-chao, *The Government of China, 1644–1911*, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1925, pp. 107–111.

TABLE 4. THE RELATION BETWEEN THE RANK OF POSTS PURCHASED AND ADVANCEMENT

	Rank of Posts Purchased					
	Rank 4–6		Rank 7–Unclassed		No Purchase	
Rank Reached	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
1–4	31	26%	9	4%	91	16%
5–6	80	67%	32	13%	77	13%
7–Unclassed	8	7%	208	83%	417	71%
Total	119	100%	249	100%	585	100%

officials who had never purchased a post. ($\sqrt{T_b}$=.299)

In Table 4, almost all the officials who had purchased middle-rank posts were either in those ranks or in *high* rank posts. In contrast to the officials who had purchased the highest posts purchasable (middle-rank posts), the great majority of both non-purchase officials (71 per cent) and of low purchase officials (83 per cent) were in *low* rank posts.

There is another way of viewing this. Although officials who purchased middle-rank posts were more likely to be in middle- or high-rank posts than were either low-purchase or non-purchase officials, since only 12 per cent of the sample purchased middle-rank posts, these middle-rank purchase officials comprised only 24 per cent of all high rank officials in the sample. The bulk of officials in the highest four ranks—69 per cent—were non-purchase officials.

What was the influence of purchase *per se*, irrespective of the *rank* of the post purchased? Of the sample, 28 per cent were recorded as having resorted to purchase once during their official careers and another 10 per cent more than once; the other 62 per cent had no record of purchase of substantive posts. If we compare those who ever purchased posts with those who never purchased, we find that purchase was most instrumental in enabling officials to move from low-rank posts up into middle rank posts ($\sqrt{T_b}$= .213). But since posts above the fourth rank were not purchasable, we find that purchase officials were not more likely than non-purchase officials to reach these high rank posts (unless the purchase-officials purchased fourth-through sixth-rank posts).

(2) *Family Background.* We shall measure the influence upon advancement of four different aspects of family background: general social position, official rank, strength of official tradition, and distaff influence. To understand the influence of the general social position of one's family, we must briefly characterize the system of stratification in China in the nineteenth century.[20] At the top were the members of the Manchu, Mongol, and Chinese Banners, descendents of the Banner military organization created by the Manchus at the beginning of the Ch'ing period. Men born into Banner families formed an hereditary, caste-like elite. Below Bannermen and their families were the traditional Chinese elite, consisting of government officials, degree-holders and local elite, and their families. The remaining 98 per cent of the population held the legal status of commoners. While there were differences in wealth and influence *among* commoners, they are here treated as a single stratum, partly because the necessary economic data are lacking, but also because the *legal* criterion of ranking (Bannermen; officials and degree-holders; commoners) was a crucial one in Ch'ing stratification.

If we examine how this criterion of stratification in the wider society influenced advancement within the bureaucracy, we note that Bannermen outdistanced Chinese from official and degree-holding families ($\sqrt{T_b}$= .231), but the latter did *not* rise higher than Chinese from commoner families. Table 5

[20] For a more complete analysis of social stratification in China between 1600 and 1900, see Robert M. Marsh, *The Mandarins, op. cit.*, chapters 3 and 4.

TABLE 5. THE RELATION BETWEEN FAMILY BACKGROUND AND ADVANCEMENT

	Family Background									
					All Other Chinese					
	Manchu Bannermen		Chinese Bannermen		Official Families		Degree Families		Commoner Families	
Rank Reached	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1–4	23	36%	10	27%	59	12%	21	10%	13	10%
5–6	22	34%	7	19%	107	21%	38	18%	18	14%
7–Unclassed	19	30%	20	54%	340	67%	154	72%	99	76%
Total	64	100%	37	100%	506	100%	213	100%	130	100%

TABLE 6. THE RELATION BETWEEN HIGHEST RANK REACHED BY FOREBEARS AND ADVANCEMENT

	Highest Rank of Father, Grandfather, and Great-Grandfather					
	Rank 1–3		Rank 4–Unclassed		Commoners	
Rank Reached	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
1–4	32	30%	58	12%	13	10%
5–6	24	23%	105	21%	18	14%
7–Unclassed	49	47%	327	67%	99	76%
Total	105	100%	490	100%	130	100%

($\sqrt{T_b}$ for entire table=.139; $\sqrt{T_b}$ for columns 1 vs. 2=.21)

shows that virtually as large a proportion of commoners' sons as of the sons of officials and degree-holders reached high rank posts.

A second aspect of family background was the rank in the bureaucracy which one's father, grandfather, and great-grandfather had reached. Was it more important for an official to have *one high-ranking* official forebear than to have more than one official forebear, but all in lower rank posts? Table 6 reveals that high-ranking forebears gave an official an advantage both over officials with low-rank official forebears and also over those with commoner forebears. Having official forebears in the fourth through ninth ranks, however, did *not* enable an official to rise higher than officials from commoner families.

A third aspect of family background that might influence advancement was the *strength* of the official tradition in one's family, among the father, grandfather, and great-grandfather. Two officials in Table 5 might both be classified as from an "official family," but one may have had only one official ancestor while the other may have had forebears all of whom were officials. This factor of the strength of official tradition was introduced by Kracke in 1947.[21] Table 7 shows that it does not determine advancement in the *T'ung Kuan Lu* sample.

Table 7 shows that almost as high a percentage (10 per cent) of officials from commoner families as of officials with a "prevalent" official tradition in their families (15 per cent) reached high rank posts. It is true that only 59 per cent of the officials with "prevalent" official tradition in their families, as compared with 73 per cent of the officials from commoner families, were in low-rank posts. But the overall relationship between "strength of official tradition in the family" and an official's advancement was very low ($\sqrt{T_b}$=.095).

The fourth aspect of family background that we tested was the influence of having official forebears on the distaff side, e.g., mother's brother, mother's uncle, etc. We found that distaff influence on one's advance-

[21] Kracke, *op. cit.*

TABLE 7. THE RELATION BETWEEN STRENGTH OF OFFICIAL TRADITION IN FAMILY AND ADVANCEMENT

	Strength of Official Tradition in Family *							
	Prevalent		Strong		Minor		None	
Rank Reached	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1–4	48	15%	32	17%	12	14%	34	10%
5–6	82	26%	32	17%	16	19%	57	17%
7–Unclassed	190	59%	126	66%	58	67%	239	73%
Total	320	100%	190	100%	86	100%	330	100%

* Prevalent: fa, gfa, and ggfa all officials; or fa and gfa officials; or fa and ggfa officials.
Strong: gfa and ggfa officials; or fa only an official.
Minor: only gfa *or* ggfa an official.
None: neither fa, gfa nor ggfa officials.

TABLE 8. THE RELATION BETWEEN RECRUITMENT PATH AND LATER ADVANCEMENT

	Type of Recruitment Path							
	Special Favor[1]		Higher Competitive Examinations[2]		Lower Examinations and Purchase[3]		Up from the Ranks and "Other"[4]	
Rank Reached	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1–4	16	67%	65	13%	33	10%	16	15%
5–6	4	16.5%	79	16%	80	25%	27	25%
7–Unclassed	4	16.5%	361	71%	212	65%	64	60%
Total	24	100%	505	100%	325	100%	107	100%

[1] *Yin-sheng* and *Kuan hsüeh-sheng*.
[2] *Chin-shih, chü-jen* and *kung-sheng*.
[3] *Chien-sheng, sheng-yuan* and purchase.
[4] Up from the ranks of clerks. "Other" includes those recommended for appointment as "filial, incorrupt, and upright," and those recommended for their military merit, etc.

ment was also insignificant ($\sqrt{T_b}$=.091). Officials from commoner families reached high posts almost as frequently (10 per cent) as did officials with distaff official influence (14 per cent). And among officials with any given "strength" of official tradition in their families—prevalent, strong, or minor—those *with* official forebears on the distaff side were not significantly more likely than those *without* distaff official influence to reach high posts.

(3) *Recruitment Path.* Officials who entered the bureaucracy through special privileges had significantly greater chances of reaching high posts than officials who were recruited through any other method, including the competitive examination system ($\sqrt{T_b}$=.219). These privileges included *Yin-sheng* (sometimes bestowed upon the descendents of officials in the three highest ranks) and *Kuan hsüeh-sheng* (students in the school for Bannermen).

Table 8 shows that 67 per cent of the *Yin-sheng* or *Kuan hsüeh-sheng* officials reached high rank posts, in contrast to only between 10 per cent and 19 per cent of officials recruited from any other path. This finding that *Yin-sheng* and *Kuan hsüeh-sheng* had a marked career advantage over officials recruited by all other means is, however, not as momentous as it may seem. For extremely few officials benefited by this means of recruitment: only 2 per cent of my total sample. As Wittfogel has noted, "The Ming and Ch'ing emperors reduced the Yin prerogative to a shadow of its former self." [22]

(4) *Age of officials.* There were charges during the nineteenth century that, at least in Peking, high rank posts were monopolized by doddering old men. This was not the case for our sample of provincial officials: of the 132 officials in high posts, only 13 per cent were 60 years old or over; 76 per cent were between 40 and 59 years old, and 11 per cent of these high-ranking officials were under 40 years old. Whatever the veneration of age in Ch'ing culture in general, there was only a low relationship ($\sqrt{T_b}$=.133) between age and advancement. As might be expected, even this small relationship between age and advancement is seen to be spurious when seniority is held constant.

One possible source of error in our findings was that while we were analyzing career advancement, many officials in our sample were only in an *early* stage of their careers. Did the role of the several determinants of advancement *differ* as between early and late career stages? We found this *not* to be the case when we repeated the above analysis for a sub-sample of older officials (those over 50 years old). Thus, our conclusions are free from this source of error.

We may now summarize our findings by showing the zero-order correlations ($\sqrt{T_b}$) between the several independent variables (both bureaucratic and extra-bureaucratic)

[22] Wittfogel, *op. cit.*, 1957, p. 350.

and the dependent variable, advancement, or rank reached.

Bureaucratic Variables	
Seniority	.233
Age at *Chin-shih*	.210
Extra-Bureaucratic Variables	
Rank of post purchased	.299
Family background [a]	.231
Recruitment path [b]	.219
Purchased vs. never purchased posts	.213
Family background [c]	.139
Age of officials	.133
Family background [d]	.095
Family background [e]	.091

[a] Banner families vs. all other families

[b] *Yin-sheng* and *Kuan hsüeh-sheng* vs. all other recruitment paths

[c] Highest rank among father, grandfather and great-grandfather

[d] Strength of official tradition among immediate forebears on both sides of the family

[e] Distaff official influence

The following attributes were found most often among the officials who rose highest in the Chinese bureaucracy (i.e., to rank 1–4 posts): 1. the purchase of middle-rank posts, the highest purchasable; 2. seniority; 3. Banner family background; 4. recruitment through the special privilege of *Yin-sheng* or *Kuan hsüeh-sheng;* 5. attainment of the coveted *chin-shih* early in life, if at all. Let us look more closely at only the *three extra-bureaucratic* attributes related to advancement (attributes 1, 3 and 4). We noted earlier that these three attributes gave men a systematic advantage in their careers, but that none of these attributes was very widely distributed among the total sample. Purchase of substantive posts gave men an edge in advancement, but only 12 per cent of the sample purchased the relevant posts. Banner family background was also advantageous, but again, only 10 per cent of the sample were from Banner families. Finally, only two per cent of the sample could benefit from the third attribute, recruitment as *Yin-sheng* or *Kuan hsüeh-sheng*. To what extent were these three extra-bureaucratic advantages *clustered* in the same individuals? A simple index of Extra-Bureaucratic Status Advantages was constructed by scoring each rank one through four official one point for each of the three status advantages he had. Thus, an official from a Banner family who was recruited as a *Yin-sheng* or a *Kuan hsüeh-sheng,* and who had purchased fourth- through sixth-rank posts received a score of three points; an official with only two of these advantages two points, etc.

Index Score		N	%
3	Highest status advantages	3	2%
2		13	10%
1		50	37%
0	No status advantages	69	51%
	Total	135	100%

Thus, half of the officials in the highest four ranks were neither from Banner families, nor recruited as *Yin-sheng* or *Kuan hsüeh-sheng,* nor officials who had purchased middle-rank posts during their careers. Another one-third (37 per cent) of these high officials had *one* of these three status advantages; only 12 per cent had more than one status advantage. The lack of these particular status advantages, then, did *not* necessarily prevent an official from reaching the highest posts.

Purchase is the only (extra-bureaucratic) factor which is more strongly related to advancement than is the bureaucratic factor of seniority. If we hold purchase constant, we can observe whether the original relationship between seniority and advancement ($\sqrt{T_b}$= .233) holds up or is reduced. The relation between seniority and advancement *within* various purchase sub-groups is as follows:

	$\sqrt{T_b}$=
1. Among officials who purchased 4–6 rank posts	.217
2. Among officials who purchased only 7–9 rank posts	.248
3. Among officials with no record of purchase	.272

Controlling for purchase has enabled us to *specify* further the relationship between seniority and advancement: the relation is not a spurious one; it is slightly weaker among officials who purchased middle-rank posts, but it is *stronger* among officials who purchased only low posts or did not purchase at all. Thus, advancement *did* depend upon seniority as well as on purchase, though officials who purchased well were somewhat less dependent upon seniority for their advancement than were those who never purchased posts.

The final question to be dealt with here is: what is the *relative* influence of (a) the two bureaucratic variables and (b) the several extra-bureaucratic variables, upon advancement? For various statistical reasons, only five of the eight extra-bureaucratic variables could be adapted to a multiple correlation analysis. The measure of multiple correlation used is $\sqrt{T_b}$, the same as used above for our zero-order correlations.

Variables

1. Advancement (dependent variable)
2. Seniority
3. Age at *chin-shih* degree
4. Rank of post purchased
5. Family background: Banner families vs. all others
6. Family background: highest rank reached by immediate forebears
7. Age of the official
8. Family background: strength of official tradition in family

Results: $\sqrt{T_b}$ 1.23 $=.447$
$\sqrt{T_b}$ 1.45678$=.574$

The above multiple correlations indicate that the combined predictive power of the two bureaucratic variables (2 and 3) on advancement is less than the combined predictive power of the five extra-bureaucratic variables (4 through 8). Advancement was somewhat more strongly related to extra-bureaucratic than to bureaucratic variables.

CONCLUSION

Weber did not specify his propositions concerning promotion in patrimonial administrations. Instead, he held that *either* bureaucratic factors (seniority and achievement) or extra-bureaucratic factors (a certain social status, the arbitrary grace of the chief, etc.), or both, could operate. He did not specify the *conditions under which* one or the other of these factors would have primacy as a determinant of advancement in patrimonial administration. In the case of nineteenth century China, advancement was determined somewhat more by extra-bureaucratic than by bureaucratic factors.

We should, however, resist any facile conclusion that, in contrast to traditional bureaucracies, bureaucratic influences have primacy over extra-bureaucratic influences in modern bureaucracies in industrial societies. Britain's "higher civil service"—the Administrative Class—has long been heavily recruited from the upper strata of the population.[23] Promotion in an American industrial plant was shown to be based not upon any definite formal procedure, but upon such informal criteria as ethnic-group affiliation, religion, participation in specific out-of-plant activities, political affiliation, etc.[24] Favoritism may be resorted to in United States federal civil service appointments because of the inadequacy of formal merit ratings. And the adding of extra points to the civil service grades of veterans was a widespread form of extra-bureaucratic influence following World War I in the United States. Of the veterans appointed, from one-sixth to one-eighth earned less than the passing civil service grade of 70.[25] Thus, more comparative research is needed, in which earlier studies of different types of bureaucracies are re-examined, and new studies conducted, in the light of our distinction between bureaucratic and extra-bureaucratic variables.

The comparative analysis of recruitment and advancement in different types of formal organization will also have important implications for the study of social stratification and mobility, and vice versa.

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[23] R. K. Kelsall, *Higher Civil Servants in Britain*, London; Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1955.

[24] O. Collins, "Ethnic Behavior in Industry: Sponsorship and Rejection in a New England Factory," *American Journal of Sociology*, 51 (January, 1946), pp. 293–298; Melville Dalton, "Informal Factors in Career Achievement," *American Journal of Sociology*, 56 (March, 1951), pp. 407–415.

[25] W. E. Mosher and J. D. Kingsley, *Public Personnel Administration*, rev. ed., New York: Harper, 1941, pp. 240–242.

THE CHANGING PROTESTANT ETHIC: RURAL PATTERNS IN HEALTH, WORK, AND LEISURE *

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Individualism, asceticism, and work as a calling productive of rational economic behavior are all elements of the value system Max Weber called the "Protestant Ethic." The investigation described in this paper is concerned with the extent to which this system of values is still operative, though altered, among a population of Midwestern farmers, and its influence in matters of health, work behavior, and leisure. High-work orientation was found to be related to individualism and asceticism but no longer necessarily productive of systematic, rational, economic behavior.

SOCIOLOGISTS have lately exhibited much concern for the changing value structure in twentieth century American life. The search has begun for the counterpart of the elusive and supposedly decaying system of values known as the Protestant Ethic. The alternative value position has been given many names, but stands united in its image of modern man as a being who feels himself acted upon rather than an active participant in the manipulation of his destiny—one who finds meaning and strength through constant association with others rather than within himself. He is a shameless consumer who for lack of funds will not put off until tomorrow what he can consume on the installment plan today. He lives for his Sundays and holidays.[1]

However, it seems unlikely that the basic system of values described by Weber has been completely demolished even by the cataclysmic changes of the twentieth century. Some of the original elements of the Protestant Ethic may remain and may be fruitfully investigated in order to see in what areas the changes have taken place. Such information may shed light on the future importance of this orientation to the modern world. But before such changes can be examined, it is necessary to examine the original moorings of the Ethic—to establish the datum.

BACKGROUND THEORY ON THE PROTESTANT ETHIC

The early Protestant hungered after salvation. His life became a vehicle for its attainment and was fashioned around the precepts of individualism, asceticism, and, perhaps most important of all, continuous, systematic labor. A man was individualistic, for he felt it incumbent upon himself to take personal responsibility for his actions since he could not rely on periodic absolution by officials in the church. A man was ascetic in his use of time and money for his life's actions were the proof of his worth. The early Protestant made "waste of time" one of the deadliest of sins and curtailed consumption of luxury and spontaneous enjoyment of possessions. He was to spend his time and money to serve only the greater glory of God. Thus, the ascetic spirit, forced to rely upon its own resources to insure its salvation, felt the necessity of labor as the highest calling and the greatest safeguard against damnation.[2]

* The data used in this paper were collected as part of the Purdue Farm Cardiac Project co-sponsored by Purdue University, Indiana Heart Association, American Heart Association, Indiana State Board of Health and the National Heart Institute. The findings originally appeared in an unpublished doctoral dissertation by Bernice Goldstein, "The Changing Protestant Ethic: Rural Patterns in Health, Work, and Leisure," (Purdue University, 1959). A more complete description of the Purdue Farm Cardiac Project is contained in *Proceedings of the Purdue Farm Cardiac Seminar*, W. H. M. Morris, editor, Purdue Agricultural Experiment Station, Lafayette, Indiana, 1959. The authors are indebted to Walter Hirsch, Hannah Meissner, W. H. M. Morris and D. C. Riedel for their assistance in either the collection, analysis, or presentation of these data.

[1] See, for example, Erich Fromm, *The Sane Society*, New York: Rinehart, 1955; David Riesman, *et al.*, *The Lonely Crowd*, New York: Doubleday, 1955; William H. Whyte, Jr., *The Organization Man*, New York: Doubleday, 1957.

[2] Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, New York: Scribner's, 1958, pp. 153–172.

Since the temporal life was only a vehicle for salvation, traditional economic behavior was of no importance in itself. Continuous, systematic—rational, in short—economic behavior thus became a by-product of this orientation, with each man trying to insure success for himself in this world to provide assurance for salvation in the next. Thus success (and the rational economic behavior required to produce it) became the gossamer thread with which a man could climb out of hell to salvation.[3]

PROBLEM AND SAMPLE

Today we know that salvation is no longer the prime end that it was in the days of Calvin. Some fifty years ago Weber himself noted that the pursuit of wealth in the United States had become separated from its earlier religious and ethical meaning. Nevertheless, many of the crucial elements of the Protestant ascetic spirit were maintained in spite of this separation.[4] We may, therefore, question what remains of this orientation today. Individualism, asceticism, or work as a calling productive of rational economic behavior—which of these elements exist today?

In order to examine this problem we selected for our sample 260 farmers from those studied by the Purdue Farm Cardiac Project.[5] We felt that remnants of the Puritan tradition might be more evident in rural life [6] and decided to divide this population into three groups so that comparisons could be made. One of the most crucial elements of the Ethic was chosen as the criterion for division—the importance attached to hard work. We thought that a farmer who agreed with the following four statements placed greater emphasis on the importance of work in his life than a man who disagreed with all four: [7]

(1) Even if I were financially able, I couldn't stop working.
(2) I've had to work hard for everything that I've gotten in life.
(3) The worst part about being sick is that work doesn't get done.
(4) Hard work still counts for more in a successful farm operation than all of the new ideas you read in the newspapers.

Thus, we divided our sample into three groups of farmers, each indicating the importance of work to a different degree.[8] The

[3] *Ibid.*, Chap. II, and pp. 179–180. Following Williams (among numerous others), we are here defining rationality as the use of the most effective means to reach a given end. Robin M. Williams, Jr., *American Society*, New York: Knopf, 1952, p. 401.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 181–182. Substantially no relationship was found between religious affiliation *per se* (Catholic and Protestant) and level of aspiration or social mobility in one study. See Raymond W. Mack, *et al.*, "The Protestant Ethic, Level of Aspiration and Social Mobility: An Empirical Test," *American Sociological Review*, 21 (June, 1956).

[5] The total sample from which these farmers were drawn consists of 413 men. About 40 per cent of the Purdue Farm Cardiac Project sample is heart-diseased, for the sample was chosen to include a large proportion of cardiacs. For information on sampling procedure see W. H. M. Morris and R. L. Eichhorn, "Sampling Procedure Used in the Farm Cardiac Survey," in *Proceedings of the Purdue Farm Cardiac Seminar*, W. H. M. Morris, editor, Purdue Agricultural Experiment Station, Lafayette, Indiana, 1959.

[6] See, for example, Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 395–396.

[7] In this paper the group of men called high work-oriented is composed of those 71 farmers who agreed with all four of the statements; the middle work-oriented, those 133 who agreed with any three; the low work-oriented, those 56 who disagreed with any three or with all four of the statements. The groups were divided in this way because the total number of responses in agreement with the four statements relating to work was almost twice as great as the dissenting number—perhaps adding further justification for Williams' view. In any case, greater weight was given to the negative response. The middle work-oriented group was selected on the basis of three "agrees" rather than two "agrees" because the variation of only one response rather than two seemed to indicate greater homogeneity among the members of this group, since "no answer" was a third possible response to these statements.

In an unpublished doctoral dissertation by D. C. Riedel, "Personal Adjustment to Perceived and Medically Established Heart Disease," (Purdue University, 1958), these four items were found to scale by the Guttman Technique for the entire group of 413 farmers. The coefficient of reproducibility was .913.

[8] Chi-square was used as a test of significance. Probability values equal to or smaller than .15 will be reported in this paper. The level of significance is a function of the way the groups have been divided. Since the middle group is not of primary concern except as an indicator of direction and because it is nearly twice as large as one of the polar types and almost three times the size of the other, a relatively low level of significance was decided upon. Furthermore, a theoretical criterion, as well as a statistical one to determine the relevance of specific findings, was employed, and this paper will

particular components which, we thought, would adhere more strongly to a high emphasis on the importance of work than to lack of such emphasis were individualism and asceticism. However, we suspected that although work conceived of as a calling by the early Protestants was productive of continuous, systematic, rational economic behavior, today emphasis on work might have become "traditionalized" and no longer productive of systematic, rational labor.[9] These problems we set out to examine.

A NOTE ON BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS

The men in these three groups are very much alike in a number of important background characteristics: area of residence, father's occupation, number of family and kin connections, type of economic enterprise, habits of consumption, religious affiliation.[10] The high work-oriented farmers tend to operate enterprises of a slightly smaller size, but the differences are not significant. The only two areas in which there are sharp differences among these three groups of farmers are age and educational background. In both of these respects the farmers who most strongly feel the importance of work in their lives tend to be older and less educated than the other two groups of men.[11] The educational levels of the sons of these men also vary according to the work-orientation of their fathers; the sons of the high work-oriented men are the least likely to have reached the college level.[12]

INDIVIDUALISM

In the Protestant Ethic tradition a man was directly responsible for his own fortunes; that is, the burden of obligation for salvation stood squarely with the individual. Among these three groups of farmers, also, self-reliance shows affinity with the degree of importance the individual attaches to work in his life; the high work-oriented men feel, to a greater degree than the members of the other two groups, that primary responsibility rests with the individual. These high work-oriented men are more likely to decide by themselves when to purchase a car and what kind of farm machinery to buy whereas the low work-oriented men show the greatest inclination to make these decisions with the aid of others.

A particularly fruitful measure of self-reliance is the individual's conception of disease.[13] How much responsibility lies with the individual to ward off disease? Eighty-eight per cent of the high work-oriented men, in contrast to 67 per cent of the middle work-oriented and 51 per cent of the low work-oriented farmers, agree that "personal health is largely a matter of a person's choice and strong will power."[14] Furthermore, 67 per cent of these high work-oriented men, as compared with 36 per cent of the middle work-oriented and 16 per cent of the low work-oriented men, agree that "if (an individual) wait(s) long enough (he) can get over most any disease."[15]

In the realm of attitudes toward, and reported use of, specialized medical agencies, these high work-oriented men appear to ex-

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include data indicating a consistency of direction relating to the theory on the Protestant Ethic. It will cite no probability values which are not significant at the alpha level chosen. No probability values were calculated for control tables.

[9] In the last few decades farming has become highly technical, requiring detailed knowledge of mechanics, agronomy, animal husbandry, finance and management. The capital required is high, and the labor force low; brain power is replacing human energy. Twelve per cent of the 413 farmers of the Purdue Farm Cardiac Project sample have been to college. Data from the Project also indicate that even for one- and two-man operations an inverse relationship exists between working-hours and gross income.

[10] Ninety-one per cent of the farmers studied are Protestants, 4 per cent are Catholics, and 5 per cent maintain no religious affiliation.

[11] ($p \leq .001$; $p \leq .001$). The explanation that the greater age of the high work-oriented men may account for their being less formally educated than the other two groups of farmers (since the amount of higher education in this country has steadily increased) is not sufficient. Even if age is held constant, the low work-oriented men in almost all of the age categories emerge as more highly educated than the high work-oriented farmers.

[12] ($p \leq .05$).

[13] One of the major interests of the Purdue Farm Cardiac Project was behavior related to varying degrees of heart impairment. Therefore, much information centering around heart disease was collected, ranging from intensive medical information to attitudes and behavior concerned with disease and medical agencies.

[14] ($p \leq .001$).

[15] ($p \leq .001$).

hibit a greater tendency to view themselves in control of their lives, for the degree of acceptance of specialized medical agencies decreases with greater emphasis upon the importance of work. The high work-oriented men are the most likely to indicate fear of the physician, exorbitance of the expense required to use medical facilities, and preference for continuing illness over recuperation in the hospital.[16] These men are less likely to carry a health insurance policy, to have a small-pox vaccination, to visit their doctors and dentists for a yearly check-up.[17]

Furthermore, these high work-oriented farmers are more likely to indicate non-compliance with the advice of their physicians; not a single individual in this group did more than his doctor recommended, and 36 per cent of the high work-oriented men did less than his doctor asked or did nothing, as compared with 17 per cent of the middle work-oriented and none of the low work-oriented men.[18] The high work-oriented farmers are themselves more likely to indicate awareness of their non-compliant behavior, as are the physicians, friends, and family members of these men.

The high work-oriented farmers thus appear to place less reliance on outside agencies, and to indicate less compliance, when the advice of their physicians comes into conflict with their own inclinations. We suggest that this lesser compliance and greater rejection of specialized agencies indicates a more individualistic outlook and a greater feeling of personal control on the part of these high work-oriented farmers rather than a lesser need for such agencies; for this group contains a larger proportion of men who are older,[19] who are heart diseased,[20] and who report more stringent orders on the part of their physicians than the other two groups of farmers, all of which seems to argue that if these high work-oriented men are not in poorer health, they are probably in no better health than the other two groups of men. Thus, non-compliance, along with greater rejection of medical and other specialized health facilities, and affirmation of the individual's responsibility in insuring good health, may all be indicative of the high work-oriented farmers' need for personal mastery over their lives.[21]

ASCETICISM

The early Protestant spirit was an ascetic one which rationed the use of time. Money and luxury were wicked only if they resulted in idleness. What remains of this ascetic

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[16] The exact statements to which the farmers responded follow:

"I'm scared everytime I go to see a doctor." ($p \leq .15$).

"I'd rather be sick than have to go to the hospital." ($p \leq .02$).

"A man can't afford to call a doctor these days." ($p \leq .05$).

[17] The probability values are as follows:

Small-pox vaccination ($p \leq .01$).

Medical check within the past year ($p \leq .10$).

Dental check within the past year ($p \leq .15$).

[18] ($p \leq .01$).

[19] Seventy-seven per cent of the high work-oriented men, in contrast to 52 per cent of the middle work-oriented and 41 per cent of the low work-oriented men, are 50 years of age or older.

[20] Sixty per cent of the high work-oriented men, in contrast to 44 per cent of the middle work-oriented and 39 per cent of the low work-oriented men, have been diagnosed as heart-diseased or hypertensive by the physicians working on the Purdue Farm Cardiac Project ($p \leq .10$). The major abnormalities diagnosed consist of the following: Arteriosclerotic heart disease, hypertensive cardiovascular heart disease, rheumatic heart disease, congenital heart disease, high blood pressure, and a combination of any of the above categories.

[21] However, the high work-oriented men have the least knowledge about the various phases of heart disease: They are least able to name correctly the symptoms of heart disease ($p \leq .01$), the treatments of heart disease ($p \leq .15$), and the different types of heart disease ($p \leq .15$). They are also the most likely to agree that "heart trouble is an older man's disease; children don't actually have it," ($p \leq .001$), and to affirm categorically that "if you have had heart trouble, you should stop working" ($p \leq .01$). The lower educational attainment of the high work-oriented farmers is not a sufficient explanation for their having less information than the other two groups of men. Furthermore, the heart-diseased men within their ranks do not have more knowledge (and in some cases appear to have less information) than the "normal" low work-oriented farmers who do not have the advantage of the greater knowledge that may result from personal affliction. The lack of compliance on the part of the high work-oriented men with the advice of their doctors, therefore, appears to be based not on greater knowledge on the part of these men (as compared with the other two groups) but on distinctly less information about symptoms, treatments, and types of heart disease. Consequently, these farmers appear to behave in a less rational manner—a manner which may be less likely to insure their physical well-being.

spirit today? We, too, may examine how frugally leisure is defined by these three groups of farmers. How favorably do they regard activities outside the realm of work?

Hesitancy to use time as leisure does appear to increase with greater emphasis placed on the importance of work. The high work-oriented men list the smallest number of activities as enjoyable[22] and are the least likely to spend time in leisure pursuits with their families.[23] Not one of the ten activities reported as enjoyable by the men was mentioned most frequently by the members of the high work-oriented group.[24]

Not only do the high work-oriented men list the smallest number of activities as leisure time enjoyment, but they also report the least increase in the amount of their participation in these activities and, of the three groups, indicate the least interest in spending more time in the future on these free-time pursuits. Furthermore, they show the least interest in organizational leisure, such as lodge meetings, farm organization meetings, church activities.[25] We may conjecture that their strong desire to work prohibits interest in other fields.

Furthermore, these high work-oriented men who are older and who show a greater occurrence of heart disease indicate their asceticism in their more rigorous personal habits. They get up earlier than the other two groups of men, have fewer hours of sleep per night, work longer hours at their farm chores. Thus, it does appear that their preoccupation with the importance of work limits outside areas of interest and that their greater asceticism is reflected by the more rigorous personal habits of these men and the smaller amount of time they deem fit to spend outside of work.

RATIONALITY AND WORK

Since corn is one of the chief crops in the United States and since it is, by far, the most important agricultural product in Central Indiana, our interest in work techniques was primarily concerned with the techniques used in corn planting. Only eight of the farmers in the three groups do not own any kind of corn-planter, and only three operate some machine other than the two-row or four-row planter. Between 41 and 50 per cent of the three groups of farmers in this study have the larger four-row machine. Our major interest, however, is not in the extent of adoption of the larger and possibly more advanced machine, but in the question of rationality and adoption.

Agricultural economists suggest that if a man has fewer than 60 acres in corn land and no other crops for which it might be used, the four-row planter is not worth the large investment required. On the other hand, if a farmer has more than 60 acres and is still operating the two-row machine, he may be utilizing his resources less efficiently than he should.[26]

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[22] Fifty-eight per cent of the high work-oriented men, in contrast to 46 per cent of the middle work-oriented and 31 per cent of the low work-oriented men, named three or fewer activities as things they like to do ($p \leq .02$). These activities include farm organization meetings, hunting and fishing, church activities, radio and television listening, lodge meetings, visits to neighbors, visits to children, and helping the wife around the house.

[23] Sixty-seven per cent of the high work-oriented men, in contrast to 48 per cent of the middle work-oriented and 36 per cent of the low work-oriented men, named two or fewer activities that they do jointly with their families per week ($p \leq .01$). The family activities that were listed by the farmers are: church, visits to relatives and neighbors, shopping, organization meetings, school activities, sports, trips, home activities. When the preferences of each group of farmers for an activity are totaled, the high work-oriented men list every one of the above activities less frequently than the low work-oriented farmers.

[24] A partial reliability check for reported preferences is the behavior these men report. Church attendance shows essentially the same direction we have described above. Forty-one per cent of the high work-oriented men, as compared with 56 per cent of the middle work-oriented and 75 per cent of the low work-oriented men, report that they attend church most or every Sunday ($p \leq .02$).

[25] The high work-oriented men are also the least likely to hold positions of leadership in farm organizations. Whereas 64 per cent of the low work-oriented men and 50 per cent of the middle work-oriented men are or have been officers in farm organizations, only 32 per cent of the high work-oriented men report such positions of leadership.

[26] This suggestion was made by staff members of the Department of Agricultural Economics at Purdue University. During a preliminary examination of these data, we examined a series of factors in relation to type of corn planter and size of corn acreage to see if these factors might justify the use of the four-row planter for a farmer with less than 60 acres or the use of the two-row planter for a farmer with more than 60 acres of corn land. Almost all of them showed no relationship to the corn planter,

The distinct differences which emerge among the three groups of farmers in the likelihood of having the machine most suitable for the size of their corn acreage indicate that rationality diminishes as emphasis on the importance of work increases. These findings are particularly interesting in view of the fact that when differences in corn acreage are not taken into account, the men in all three groups are about as likely to have the larger machine as they are to have the smaller one.

Of the farmers who have under 60 acres in corn land, 62 per cent of the high work-oriented men, 71 per cent of the middle work-oriented men, and 87 per cent of the low work-oriented men have the two-row planter, the smaller and cheaper machine which is assumed to be better suited to a smaller corn enterprise. Thus, the likelihood that a farmer with less than 60 acres in corn land has made the unnecessary expenditure required to purchase the four-row planter rises with increasing emphasis on work.[27] Of the farmers with over 60 acres in corn land, only 50 per cent of the high work-oriented men, in comparison with 66 per cent of the middle work-oriented and 86 per cent of the low work-oriented farmers, have the larger four-row machine which is more efficient for an enterprise of this size.[28]

These findings seem to indicate that rationality in the use of the corn planter does decline with the stronger emphasis a farmer places on work. In spite of the fact that the older age and the lesser educational attainments of the high work-oriented men were accounted for,[29] these farmers are less likely

TABLE 1. HOW LIKELY ARE THESE THREE GROUPS OF FARMERS TO HAVE THE MACHINE BEST SUITED TO THE SIZE OF THEIR CORN ENTERPRISE? (Corn Acreage Controlled)

Type of Corn Planter	High Work-Oriented Percentage			Middle Work-Oriented Percentage			Low Work-Oriented Percentage			Total Percentage		
	≦60	60+	Total	≦60	60+	Total	≦60	60+	Total	≦60	60+	Total
2-row	62	50	57	71	34	50	87	14	47	72	33	51
4-row	38	50	43	29	66	50	12	86	53	28	67	49
Total Percentage	100	100	100	100	100	100	99	100	100	100	100	100
No. of cases *	(37)	(30)	(67)	(55)	(74)	(129)	(24)	(29)	(53)	(116)	(133)	(249)

* The 11 respondents with no planter or with another type of machine have been omitted.
(p≦.10 for less than 60 acres) (p≦.02 for 60 or more acres)

and, therefore, were dismissed as potential factors which might justify the use of the less efficient types of machine. The economic factors found to show no relationship when investigated in the total sample of farmers were: the amount of labor, including hired labor, work done by the sons, family labor, and the number of man-work-units per man-month, the size of total acreage (for under 60 acres of corn land) and the fraction of land owned; finally, the number of litters of pigs a farmer has (and therefore the amount of time required to care for them) is not related to the size of the corn planter used.

[27] (p≦.10 for those farming fewer than 60 acres of corn).

[28] (p≦.02 for those farming 60 or more acres of corn).

[29] When differences in age and educational levels were controlled, we found that the high work-oriented men, regardless of age or educational level,

to have the machine best suited to the size of their enterprise.[30]

The high work-oriented men are not only less rational in their use of the corn planter and have more rigorous habits, but they also tend to spend more time at their farm work than the low work-oriented men. Although these high and low work-oriented men are almost alike in the number of hours spent in summer field-work, the high work-oriented men do appear to spend the largest number of hours at chore work.[31] However, they do not appear to do any better economically than the other two groups of farmers and in some areas have a poorer showing. Although the gross income among these groups is virtually identical (taking into account differences in size of acreage), the socio-economic status of the high work-oriented men is evaluated lower than the other two groups of farmers, as is the condition of these high work-oriented farmers' buildings.[32]

Mortgages offer another possible index of economic standing. The high work-oriented men appear more likely than the low work-oriented farmers to own all of their property at an earlier age. They are correspondingly less likely to carry mortgages of larger size. The positive value of ownership and the fear of indebtedness may be related to the greater tendency on the part of the high work-oriented farmers to pay off their mortgages at an earlier age than the low work-oriented men, particularly in view of the finding that this high work-oriented group also shows a smaller percentage of men buying on time than the other two groups of farmers. One may question how functional such an orientation is since money invested in ownership at a younger age leaves a smaller amount remaining for expansion of enterprise through the purchase of machinery or investment in other areas which may bring added returns for fluid dollars. Furthermore, one wonders whether the quick retirement of a mortgage is economically defensible at a time when inflation may lessen the real cost of the mortgage if the farmer waits.

On the whole, then, the economic differences among these three groups are small. Gross income reveals few differences. However, socio-economic status and the success with which farm buildings have been maintained tend to favor the low work-oriented farmers. In spite of what might have been expected from the additional amount of time spent by these high work-oriented men in farm labor, the findings seem to indicate that they may not be better off economically than the low work-oriented men. Their economic conduct in such areas as the use of planting techniques and their earlier payment of mortgages and debts may be less rational than the conduct of the other two groups of men.

THE "TRADITIONAL" SPIRIT

In the previous sections we have suggested that the high work-oriented farmers have less knowledge at their command—knowledge related to heart disease and to the efficient use of machinery used in corn planting. Early in this paper we also suggested that the valuation of hard work may have become traditionalized and no longer productive of systematic, rational labor. The less adequate knowledge of the high work-oriented men in the areas mentioned may be a partial measure of this tendency toward traditionalization. Another possible index of this concerns these farmers' attitudes toward past versus present ways of behaving.

The farmers in the three groups were asked to evaluate work in the past when the techniques in use were less complex. Seventy per cent of the high work-oriented men agree that "a farmer seemed to enjoy life more

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were the least likely to have the machine best suited to the size of their corn acreage. In almost every instance we found that the predicted three-way relationship held constant; that is, rationality in the use of the corn planter decreased as emphasis on the importance of work rose.

[30] These differences in the rational use of the corn planter resulted from dividing the corn land at 60 acres on the assumption that the benefits resulting from the use of the four-row planter on fewer than 60 acres do not warrant the larger expense of this machine; furthermore, that for men with over 60 acres of corn, the greater efficiency resulting from the use of the four-row machine is worth the additional expense.

[31] The high work-oriented men tend to spend the largest number of hours at both winter and summer chore-work. The probability value for the latter is ($p \leq .05$).

[32] Judgments of interviewers were obtained on the socio-economic status of the respondents and on the maintenance of their farm buildings ($p \leq .15$ and $p \leq .10$ respectively).

back in the days when he used a team of horses." However, only 35 per cent of the middle work-oriented and 26 per cent of the low work-oriented men agree that life was better in the past.[33] If a farmer feels that life was more enjoyable at a time when techniques of work were simpler, perhaps he finds a more complex enterprise distasteful and less rewarding.

In the field of health the same tendency also emerges. Along with their greater rejection of the modern specialist, which we have observed before, 63 per cent of the high work-oriented men agree that some of the old-fashioned remedies have more merit than the newer kinds of drugs—63 per cent as compared with 39 per cent of the middle work-oriented and 29 per cent of the low work-oriented farmers.[34] When the greater age of the high work-oriented group was taken into account, we still found that a high work-oriented farmer of any age is more likely to favor the good old days and the old-fashioned remedies. These high work-oriented men, therefore, do seem to show a greater affinity for the traditional; their responses to these statements along with their lesser knowledge may indicate that emphasis on hard work has become traditionalized. The low work-oriented men, on the other hand, appear to be the least traditionally inclined of the three groups.

SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

Thus far we have found that the high work-oriented men do appear to place strong emphasis on the importance of self-reliance. They also appear to be more ascetic than the other two groups of men and, in the economic behavior we have investigated, appear to be less rational. Furthermore, their attitudes and their smaller fund of knowledge in certain areas seem to indicate that the valuation of hard work may have become traditionalized. Is it possible, then, that the modern remnants of the Protestant Ethic still contain the need to feel mastery and control over one's life but are no longer accompanied by rational economic behavior? Conversely, is the "rational" modern man one who de-emphasizes the importance of work, one who finds meaning in life through his leisure hours, one who feels no particularly strong need to rely upon himself but instead rests the burdens of self-reliance upon the shoulders of the specialist?

While we cannot pretend to answer these questions, we may speculate on any light shed by these findings on the future potential of the Protestant Ethic.

The men who most strongly adhere to the importance of work in their lives tend to be the oldest group of farmers. None of the men under 40 years of age favors what we have called a high work-orientation. Possibly then the concept of work as a "calling" or extreme emphasis on the importance of work in life is generally not as acceptable to younger men. Furthermore, higher educational achievements accompany less emphasis on work.

The very age and educational differences among these groups of men seem to suggest that the low work-oriented men are the favored children of the future. Furthermore, because of the increasing number of college trained farmers, the trend toward fewer men to manage the big business of farming, we suspect that the more highly educated sons of the low work-oriented farmers will have a better chance for success. Finally, we may expect that greater influence in a field of endeavor will be exerted by men who hold positions of leadership in that field. The low work-oriented men's greater tendency to hold positions of leadership in farm organizations seems to argue that these men may be more powerful than the high work-oriented farmers in determining the present and future course of farming.

As far as acceptance of outside specialized and technical agencies is concerned, the greater individualism of the high work-oriented men, which leads them to reject such agencies, may be atavistic. The low work-oriented men appear to be the ones who place greater faith in the outside specialist, the agency, the organization. These men are perhaps, to use Whyte's term, the rural "organization men." These men appear to feel less need to emphasize their own personal control over life. Unimpeded by an ascetic

[33] ($p \leq .001$).

[34] The exact wording of the statement is: "Some of the old-fashioned remedies are still better than the things you buy in the drugstore." ($p \leq .001$).

conception of life and the dominant value of work, these men may be more inclined to worship at the shrines of "science" and "leisure." A rejection of this trend and a hearkening back to the good old days may soon be dimmed by the overwhelming voices clamoring for advice and "fun." The conception of hard work as one of the major virtues in life may be lost in an era when the rational use of new technology (with the guidance of experts) requires less time in labor and leaves more time for play.

The fable of the ant and the grasshopper may have a new ending. In the original story the ant who labored long hours during the beautiful summer months while the grasshopper played was well provided for in the winter; but the grasshopper faced cold and starvation in punishment for his frivolous behavior. The moral was a clear and simple one for children. It taught them the necessity and the virtue of continual labor in preparation for the lean future. The story of the future may be a different one. If the grasshopper can play during the summer while the ant labors and if the grasshopper can accumulate the same or more adequate provisions during a few choicely spent hours just before winter, what then becomes the moral for children?

AN EXPERIMENTAL TEST OF A THEORY OF COALITION FORMATION *

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In an earlier paper, a theory of coalition formation was presented and applied to existing experimental results. This paper describes an experiment designed to test the theory more directly. Twenty-four five-man groups played a series of political convention "games" in which the principal action consisted of a series of bargaining sessions aimed at forming winning coalitions. The theory was generally supported with two important exceptions. First, variable risks involved in following particular strategies affected the outcome where constant risks had been assumed. Second, those individuals who were not in the final predicted coalition did not conform to the model. Both of these exceptions can be incorporated into the theory.

COALITION formation is comparatively rare among sociological phenomena in its susceptibility to experimental study. A number of such studies have already explored coalitions in the three-person group.[1] In an earlier paper,[2] a theory was presented which attempted to generalize coalition formation beyond the triad while still handling existing results. Earlier results provided a post-hoc "test." This paper describes the results of an experiment designed to test the theory more directly.

The theory applies to situations which meet the following conditions: (1) There is a decision to be made and there are more than two social units attempting to maximize their share of the payoff; (2) No single alternative will maximize the payoff to all participants; (3) No participant has dictatorial powers, i.e., no one has initial resources sufficient to control the decision by himself; (4)

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[1] See especially, W. E. Vinacke and A. Arkoff, "An Experimental Study of Coalitions in the Triad," *American Sociological Review*, 22 (August, 1957), pp. 406–415; T. M. Mills, "Coalition Pattern in Three-Person Groups," *American Sociological Review*, 19 (December, 1954), pp. 657–667; J. R. Bond and W. E. Vinacke, "Coalitions in Mixed-Sex Triads," *Sociometry*, 24 (March, 1961), pp. 61–75; W. E. Vinacke, "Sex Roles in a Three-Person Game," *Sociometry*, 22 (December, 1959), pp. 343–360; S. Stryker and G. Psathas, "Research on Coalitions in the Triad: Findings, Problems, and Strategy," *Sociometry*, 23 (September, 1960), pp. 217–230; and H. H. Kelley and A. J. Arrowhead, "Coalitions in the Triad: Critique and Experiment," *Sociometry*, 23 (September, 1960), pp. 231–244.

[2] William A. Gamson, "A Theory of Coalition Formation," *American Sociological Review*, 26 (June, 1961), pp. 373–382. See this paper for a fuller description of the theory and its relation to the sociological and mathematical literature.

No participant has veto power, i.e., no member *must* be included in every winning coalition.

To predict who will join with whom in any specific instance, information is needed on the following:

1. The initial distribution of resources. We must know what the relevant resources are for any given decision and, at some starting point, how much of these resources each participant controls.

2. The payoff for each coalition. The theory specifies that only one coalition wins and the payoff to all non-members is zero. Therefore, we need know only the payoff associated with each possible winning coalition.

3. Non-utilitarian strategy preferences. We must have a rank ordering (with ties allowed) of each participant's inclination to join with every other player *exclusive of that player's control of the resources.*

4. The effective decision point. We must know the amount of resources necessary to determine the decision.

A minimal winning coalition is a winning coalition such that the defection of any member will make the coalition no longer winning. The cheapest winning coalition is that minimal winning coalition with total resources closest to the decision point. The general hypothesis of the theory states that *any participant will expect others to demand from a coalition a share of the payoff proportional to the amount of resources that they contribute to a coalition.*

Any participant, A, estimates the *payoff to himself* from a prospective coalition as a product of the *total payoff* to that coalition and A's expected share of that total. The total payoff is known to A and the general hypothesis specifies the share that A will expect to give to others. Thus, A can assign to any prospective coalition a personal payoff value—his proportion of the resources in the coalition multiplied by the total payoff for that coalition.

When a player must choose among alternative coalition strategies where the total payoff to a winning coalition is constant, he will maximize his payoff by maximizing his *share.* The theory states that he will do this by maximizing the ratio of his resources to the total resources of the coalition. Since his resources will be the same regardless of which coalition he joins, the lower the total resources, the greater will be his share. Thus, where the total payoff is held constant, he will favor the *cheapest winning coalition.*

Finally, a coalition will form if and only if there are *reciprocal strategy choices* between two participants. To illustrate, let us assume the X's desired coalition in some three-person game is XY, that Y's is XY or YZ, and that Z's favored coalition is XZ. Only X and Y have *reciprocal strategy choices,* i.e., require the other in their preferred coalition, and, thus, the coalition XY is predicted by the theory. The model envisions the process of coalition formation as a step-by-step process where the participants join two at a time. Once a coalition has been formed, the situation becomes a new one—that is, there is a fresh distribution of resources—and, in the new coalition situation, the original strategies may or may not be appropriate.

EXPERIMENTAL DESIGN

A total of 120 subjects were recruited from social fraternities at the University of Michigan. They were told that they would be participating in an experimental study of "how political conventions operate" and that each of them would be playing the role of delegation chairman at a series of political conventions. At the beginning of every convention, each subject was given a sheet with the number of votes he and each of the other delegation chairmen controlled. The experiment consisted of 24 five-man groups composed of three men from one fraternity house and two from another.

The object of the game, for each subject, was to "win" political patronage or "jobs." To do this, he had to put together a majority of the votes by combining with other chairmen in a prescribed fashion. To form a coalition, he had to decide with the other chairman or chairmen how to divide up the jobs to which their coalition was entitled.

The operationalizations of the variables of the theory are:

1. *Initial distribution of resources.* The number of votes or delegates controlled by each subject were the resources of the convention; the total number of votes was 101.

2. *The payoff.* A certain number of jobs were associated with every winning coalition and the subjects were told to try to acquire as many of these jobs as possible over all the conventions.

3. *Non-utilitarian strategy preference.* The use of fraternity members as subjects was dictated by this variable. We assumed that every subject had a positive preference for the other subject or subjects who were members of the same fraternity as himself and that he was neutral between members within any one house.

Positions in the conventions were labeled by color and these colors were assigned in two different ways to vary non-utilitarian strategy preferences. In Condition RBW, the three-man contingent received the colors red, blue, and white randomly distributed among them while the two-man contingent received yellow and green. In Condition YGW, the three-man contingent received yellow, green, and white and the two-man group received red and blue. Assignments were made alternately, resulting in 12 groups under each condition of non-utilitarian strategy preference. An effort was made to keep the social status of the members the same *within* any house, i.e., active or senior fraternity members were not placed with new initiates or "pledges."

4. *Decision point.* A simple majority of the 101 votes was necessary for a coalition to be awarded the designated number of jobs and thus end the convention.

Specific Procedures. For each convention,[3] the subjects had a list giving the initial distribution in votes and information from which they could calculate the payoff to any coalition. Table 1 reproduces these figures with the positions identified by color.

The subjects were seated behind partitions so that they were not visible to each other although they could all be seen by the experimenter. Each had a set of five invitation cards which had the color of each chairman including the subject's own color. At a given signal, the subjects held up the single card of the person with whom they wished to bargain or, if they did not wish to bargain at that time, their own card. The experimenter then announced whether or not reciprocal choices had occurred.

If and only if such reciprocal choices occurred, the two subjects left their partitions and entered the "smoke filled room" where they were allowed to discuss the terms of a deal for a period of three minutes. In order to form a coalition, they had to reach an agreement on some *division of the jobs* which would be their portion if they ended up in a winning coalition. They were not committed to reach an agreement simply because they had entered the bargaining room and they could meet again later by the procedure of reciprocal invitations.

TABLE 1. INITIAL DISTRIBUTION OF RESOURCES AND PAYOFF FOR THREE EXPERIMENTAL SITUATIONS

Convention		Player				
		Red	Yellow	Blue	Green	White
One:	Votes	20	20	20	20	20
	Jobs	100	100	100	100	100
Two:	Votes	17	25	17	25	17
	Jobs	100	100	100	100	100
Three:	Votes	15	35	35	6	10
	Jobs	90	100	0	90	0

At the end of each bargaining session, the experimenter announced to the rest of the group whether or not an agreement had been reached although he did not reveal the terms. If an agreement was reached and the chairmen involved possessed a majority of the votes, the convention was over and the experimenter distributed the job tokens in the manner specified by their agreement. If, as in most cases, their agreement left them short of a majority, they then returned to the "convention floor," where they were allowed to sit behind the same partition and communicate freely. For the duration of the convention, they played as a *unit;* the coalition acted in every way as if it were a single player with the combined resources of its members. Together the two members of a coalition held up only one card and any other player invited the whole coalition or other unattached players.

Subsequent bargaining sessions might involve three or even four people but they were essentially two-man sessions with one side of the table being represented by a two-member delegation in which one person acted as spokesman. These bargaining sessions were recorded on tape. Each convention continued by the procedure described until an agreement had been reached between chairmen

[3] Each group participated in four conventions altogether, with each convention adding an additional complexity. The final convention, while it had some interesting developments, was inconclusive as a test of the theory and will not be reported here.

who controlled a majority of the votes. The convention was then complete and the jobs were distributed.

To avoid the necessity of listing all coalitions, subjects were given the following rule by which they could calculate the payoff for any coalition: A winning coalition receives the highest number of jobs associated with any member; a losing coalition receives nothing. Thus, in Convention Three (see Table 1) a coalition between Red, Yellow, and Green would receive 100 jobs while one between Blue, Green, and White received 90 jobs.

A cash prize was given to the person with the highest job total at each position over all 24 groups. The experimenter pointed out to the subjects that this manner of awarding the prize meant that there was nothing to gain by "punishing" someone in the present group during the later conventions in the series because of his high total on earlier ones. We hoped by this means to forestall one possible interdependence between conventions. The results of each convention were not announced until the conclusion of all conventions and the subjects were prohibited from looking ahead or making any commitments beyond the duration of one convention.

An illustrative example from Convention Two might provide some feeling for the action of the experiment. On round one of the invitations, Red (with 17 votes) and Yellow (with 25 votes) hold up each other's cards and there is no reciprocity among the others. Red and Yellow enter the bargaining room and agree to divide their share, 40 per cent for Red and 60 per cent for Yellow. They return to the convention floor and there are no reciprocal invitations for a few rounds. Finally, on the fifth round, Red-Yellow and Blue hold up each other's cards.

They are unable to reach an agreement, and on round six, Red-Yellow and White hold up each other's cards and Blue and Green also choose each other. Red-Yellow and White meet in one room and Blue and Green also bargain in another. The former group reaches an agreement in which White receives 30 per cent and Red-Yellow get 70 per cent. This coalition is now winning and is entitled to 100 jobs under the formula given earlier of which White receives 30, Red receives 28 (40 per cent of 70 jobs) and Yellow gets 42 (60 per cent of 70 jobs).

EXPERIMENTAL RESULTS

The assumption that subjects would prefer members of their own fraternity to those from a different group was simpler than the actual case. Occasionally, exactly the opposite effect was true. Some players preferred to take their chances with a stranger rather than to bargain with a "difficult" fraternity brother. In short, non-utilitarian strategy preferences were somewhat uncontrolled, with fraternity affiliation as perhaps the most important but still only one of several determinants.

Convention One (see Table 1) actually tests the validity of the fraternity distinction rather than the theory. It indicates the extent to which individuals choose to join with their fraternity brothers where the "rational" parameters of the theory are held constant.

In Table 2 we can see that while there is a tendency present it is somewhat less than universal. The chance frequencies of choosing one's fraternity brothers are given in parentheses next to the actual frequencies. The choices are tabulated separately for those who had only one fraternity brother in the group and those who had two. Only when all rounds in which there were no reciprocal invitations previously are taken together is the tendency for subjects to choose their fraternity brother statistically significant; the magnitude remains slight.[4]

We must conclude that there is very little validity to fraternity membership as a measure of non-utilitarian strategy preference. Few of the results in the remainder of the experiment differed between the two methods of assigning colors. Consequently, the results for the two conditions will be combined with a few exceptions where the differences are still of interest.

The theory actually makes two kinds of predictions. One type concerns the individual invitations in each convention ("choice" hypotheses), while the other concerns the for-

[4] The null hypothesis in this and subsequent cases is calculated on the assumption that players are choosing at random. To test the significance of departures from chance frequencies, the binomial distribution was used with a small N (under 25) and Chi Square was used with a larger N.

TABLE 2. FREQUENCY OF CHOOSING FRATERNITY BROTHERS IN CONVENTION ONE

		Brother	Other	N[b]	P
First Round:	3-man group	57% (50%)	43% (50%)	68	NS
	2-man group	36% (25%)	64% (75%)	45	≐.10
Other Rounds: [a]	3-man group	60% (50%)	40% (50%)	63	≐.10
	2-man group	28% (25%)	72% (75%)	46	NS
Total:	3-man group	59% (50%)	41% (50%)	131	<.05
	2-man group	32% (25%)	68% (75%)	91	NS

[a] Where no reciprocal choices occurred on earlier rounds.

[b] The total number of first round choices is only 113 since seven subjects held up their own color on the first round.

mation of coalitions through reciprocal choices ("combinatorial" hypotheses).

There is one genuine test of the theory contained in Convention One. When two coalitions have formed without a majority being reached, the situation is a Caplow Type 3 triad[5] in which two "players" have 40 votes and a third has 20 votes. This occurred in seven of the groups. The choice hypothesis in this situation is that the players with 40 votes will choose the player with 20 votes rather than each other.

This hypothesis is tested twice, independently, every time the situation occurs, and of the 14 independent tests, 13 were predicted correctly ($P<.001$). The combinatorial hypothesis would predict that the final coalition will *not* be between the two groups with 40 votes each. This was confirmed in six of the seven cases and the one exception occurred only after three earlier bargaining sessions had failed to produce a coalition which would have confirmed the hypothesis.

Convention Two. In this convention, the theory predicts that Red, Blue, and White will choose each other and that the cheapest coalition, Red-Blue-White, will be the final coalition.

The case of Yellow and Green in Convention Two is an interesting one and raises a problem which is frequently encountered by "rational" theories. How much credit for foresight is assumed? The cheapest winning coalition for either Yellow or Green would be formed by joining with two of the players with 17 votes. Shouldn't Yellow and Green, therefore, choose among Red, Blue, and White according to the theory presented here?

Yellow and Green may reason that while *their* best interest lies with these players, Red, Blue, and White have no incentive to choose them. Therefore, the most "rational" strategy in the circumstances may be to play in a manner which will disrupt the game or, in other words, to play for an "error." If Yellow and Green combine quickly, for example, they may be able to woo one of the others before they can combine. Yet, there is no reason to expect that playing for an error in this way is preferable to playing for a "direct" error by assuming that Red, Blue, or White will fail to see their proper strategy from the outset. If all errors are equally possible, Yellow and Green should still estimate their expected payoff from a coalition in the manner predicated by the theory. Accordingly, we predicted that in Convention Two, Yellow and Green will choose either Red, Blue, or White.

Table 3 shows that Red, Blue, and White do have some tendency to choose each other as predicted. Under condition YGW where Red and Blue are from one fraternity and Yellow, Green, and White are from the other, White is in a position where he *must* choose a member of a rival fraternity if he is to choose Red or Blue as the theory predicts. Therefore, we have provided in Table 3 a revised initial choice tally which excludes those cases in which *all* of the predicted choices were in a different fraternity from the chooser. With the removal of these eleven cases, the significance level goes up sharply and the hypothesis is more substantially confirmed.

More striking than the confirmation of the hypothesis concerning Red, Blue, and White

[5] See Theodore Caplow, "A Theory of Coalitions in the Triad," *American Sociological Review*, 21 (August, 1956), pp. 489–493.

TABLE 3. INITIAL CHOICES FOR CONVENTION TWO

	Percentage Correctly Predicted	N	P
Red, Blue, White	61% (50%) [a]	67	<.10
Red, Blue, White (revised) [b]	66% (50%)	56	<.02
Yellow, Green	33% (75%)	48	(<.01) [c]

[a] The expected chance percentages are included next to the actual percentages in this and in subsequent tables.
[b] Excluding choices by White in Condition YGW.
[c] In opposite direction.

is the significant *reversal* of the hypothesis concerning Yellow and Green. Not only might Yellow and Green feel that the predicted choices would not reciprocate, but they are also from the same fraternity house in both conditions. Where they were the only members from that house, in condition RBW, the tendency to pick each other is considerably greater. In this case, they pick each other 79 per cent of the time with a chance expectancy of 25 per cent, while in condition YGW, they choose each other only 54 per cent of the time ($.10>p>.05$). Apparently, Yellow and Green are eschewing the "lost cause" of inviting Red, White, or Blue and are instead turning to each other.

As we can see in Table 4, they are sometimes successful in luring one of the players with 17 votes into the coalition and for considerably less than 1/3 of the jobs. While the predicted coalition Red-Blue-White takes place significantly more often than chance, there are numerous "errors." Occasionally, Red, Blue, and White reached the bargaining room as the theory predicted but could not reach an agreement. Subsequently, they may have joined or some other winning coalition may have formed. To be able to predict who will reach the bargaining room in this situation is at least partial support for the theory, so we have examined this criterion as well. It reveals more impressive confirmation for the theory despite the fact that where Red, Blue, and White *finally* joined they were not always the first potentially winning group to meet.

TABLE 4. FINAL COALITIONS AND FIRST POTENTIALLY WINNING SESSION FOR CONVENTION TWO

	Final Coalition	First Potentially Winning Session
RBW (predicted)	8 ($p<.002$)	10 ($p<.001$)
RYB	2	1
RBG	2	2
RGW	3	3
YBW	1	1
RYW	0	0
BGW	0	0
RYG	2	3
YBG	1	1
YGW	5	3
Total	24	24

Since the theory frequently favors the initially weak against the initially strong, it is interesting to examine the following four-man situation which occurs fairly frequently in Convention Two: [6]

Red-Blue:	34 votes
Green:	25 votes
Yellow:	25 votes
White:	17 votes

Here, the cheapest winning coalition is between the strongest player, Red-Blue, and the weakest, White; those who are in between in resources are in the strategically weakest position according to the theory. This hypothesis is supported in 10 out of 12 instances ($p<.001$).

Many other situations develop in the step-by-step process of coalition formation that are in effect new situations. These, as in the four-man situation described above, confirm the theory, frequently with high levels of significance.[7]

Convention Three. This convention has two new elements. First, there are now *different payoffs* depending on the composition of the winning coalition and, second, it is possible for two players (Yellow and Blue) to form a winning coalition in a *single* round. There are seven minimal winning coalitions, but because of the sequential nature of the coalition formation process, non-minimal coalitions can, and occasionally do, occur. Nevertheless, a "null hypothesis" of one-seventh is the most conservative estimate we can use in evaluating the results.

Differences in the number of steps necessary to form a winning coalition add a new

[6] For convenience, the coalition is called Red-Blue and the player with 17 votes, White.

[7] In one particularly noteworthy triadic situation where one party has 34 votes, one has 50, and one has 17, the predicted choices are made in 29 out of 32 cases ($p<.001$).

variable not considered in the theory. It was implicitly assumed that the formation of alternative coalitions would offer the *same* practical difficulties and involve equal risk. In the experimental design, getting into the bargaining room was not always easily accomplished and the "bird in hand" philosophy frequently prevailed. Subjects would accept an offer here and now despite a belief that a better deal was possible through additional bargaining sessions.

The result was an advantage in the final division of the jobs for those who had already formed a coalition as long as the other players were divided. In Conventions One and Two, the spokesman for a coalition frequently used the argument, with considerable effectiveness, that the coalition's alternatives were immediate while the other player's single alternative depended on himself and the remaining two players joining in a process which necessarily took two steps.

A similar effect was apparently working in Convention Three. Yellow and Blue could avoid the risks and additional bargaining by *immediately* agreeing in spite of the fact that their coalition was the least cheap of the minimal winning coalitions.

In this game, Yellow-Green-White is the cheapest coalition with the highest payoff. For Blue, the coalition Blue-Green-White is most desirable, but Green and White will prefer to join with Yellow where the coalition receives 100 instead of 90 jobs to divide. Similarly, Red-Yellow-Green will be Red's choice but not the first choice of the others. It is interesting to note that the "weakest" player, Green, is included in every player's preferred coalition strategy according to the theory.

Tables 5 and 6 indicate, as in Convention Two, a somewhat complicated pattern of support and rejection. Green and White follow the coalition strategy predicted but Yellow sharply deviates. More than 70 per cent of Yellow's "incorrect" choices are his choice of Blue. Yellow apparently prefers to try the less risky and quicker coalition with Blue than the cheaper coalition with Green and White. Similarly, the reversal of correct predictions for Blue is accounted for by his choice of Yellow on 12 occasions. In fact, the theory leads to a rather impractical strategy for Blue since, as we shall see in discussing the final division of jobs, he can rarely do better than join with Yellow although this is *not* true of Yellow's joining with Blue.

TABLE 5. INITIAL CHOICES FOR CONVENTION THREE

Chooser	Percentage Correctly Predicted	N	P
Green	59% (50%)	22	<.02
White	74% (50%)	23	
Yellow	25% (50%)	24	(<.02)[a]
Red	43% (50%)	23	NS
Blue	33% (50%)	24	(<.10)[a]

[a] In wrong direction.

TABLE 6. FINAL COALITIONS AND FIRST POTENTIALLY WINNING SESSION FOR CONVENTION THREE

	Final Coalition	First Potentially Winning Session
YGW (predicted)	5 (NS)	6 (NS)
RYG	4	2
BGW	1	4
RYW	2	2
RBG	3	2
RBW	1	1
YB	6 (NS)	7 (p=.07)
YBG	1	0
RYB	1	0
Total	24	24

Table 6 indicates that the distribution of final coalitions does not significantly support the theory. Yellow-Green-White, while it occurs more than average, is less frequent than Blue-Yellow. However, if we limit our attention to the 6 three-man minimal winning coalitions where *the number of steps necessary to form the coalition is held constant*, the results appear a little more favorable. The three most likely coalitions according to the theory occurred 10 out of 18 times (NS). However, using the criterion of the first potentially winning bargaining session, the three predicted coalitions met 12 out of 17 times (p=.07).

As in Convention Two, intermediate four-man and three-man situations allow for additional tests of the theory. With virtually any start other than a coalition between Yellow and Blue, the action of Convention Three gives supporting evidence.

Test of the General Hypothesis. The experimental results *indirectly* test the general hypothesis of the theory since the specific predictions of choices and coalitions are

TABLE 7. AVERAGE JOBS PER COALITION FOR EACH COLOR

Convention		R	Y	B	G	W
One:	Votes	20	20	20	20	20
	j/c[a]	33.9	33.7	33.4	30.7	32.6
	N	19	15	13	16	10
Two:	Votes	17	25	17	25	17
	j/c	27.9	38.8	32.4	37.0	33.1
	N	17	11	14	13	17
Three:	Votes	15	35	35	6	10
	j/c	27.8	50.6	41.8	22.1	24.7
	N	11	19	13	14	9

[a] Average number of jobs received when a member of the winning coalition.

largely based upon it. However, data on the actual division of the jobs shed further light on the process.

What is the relationship between the initial distribution of resources (votes) which a player has and his share of the payoff (jobs)? In Table 7, we consider the average number of jobs per winning coalition for each color. In Convention One, where all have equal votes, there are few differences. In Convention Two, although the two strong players are included in the winning coalition less frequently than the others, on those occasions in which they are included, they are able to demand a larger share of the jobs than the others. Yellow and Green together average 37.8 jobs against 31.1 jobs for Red, Blue, and White ($p<.001$). Similarly, job share follows resources in Convention Three. Yellow is able to fare better than Blue in Convention Three because his presence in a coalition will mean a higher total payoff.

It is interesting to compare Yellow's success with various coalition strategies in Convention Three. He is most successful when he follows the predicted strategy of joining with White and Green where he averages 55.4 jobs in five such coalitions. He does virtually as well by joining with Blue on six occasions for a 54.3 job average. However, when he is involved in any other coalition, as he was on eight occasions, he averages only 45.0 jobs. Blue, on the other hand, averages 45.7 jobs when joining with Yellow but only 38.5 when following any other strategy.

In general, the main hypothesis of the theory is supported. There are few equal divisions where the participants have unequal votes *despite equalities of strategic position.* Players are able to get more than their proportional share in some situations, but they are rarely able to achieve what they might hope to get if differences in resources were ignored.

To illustrate this, where two non-winning coalitions have formed, the fifth player might be expected to get up to 50 per cent of the total jobs since the alternative to his inclusion is for the two coalitions to join. In practice, players in this situation rarely received anything close to 50 per cent and, in fact, *rarely demanded that much.* Some subjects settled for as little as 1/3 or less and those who received as much as 40 per cent were highly pleased. Despite the nature of their strategic position, subjects seemed to feel that any amount which they received above their proportional share was, as it were, sheer profit.

The Bargaining Process. The verbatim transcriptions of the bargaining sessions of the "smoke filled room" are a rich source of insight into the thinking processes of the subjects as they plotted and planned their future strategies and discussed the reasons for their past actions. There is much informal evidence in these dialogues for the validity of the general hypothesis. Space limitations unfortunately prevent the reproduction of verbatim excerpts.

When a two-man coalition was formed, the players generally used their additional time to discuss whom they would invite to join on the next round. Arguments which amounted to informal statements of the general hypothesis of the theory were given explicitly again and again and could be inferred from many other statements.

The argument that initial resources are irrelevant because any combination considered will be winning is also used, although less frequently, and it is used invariably by players with few resources. However, those who use it rarely demand what its logic would dictate. In fact, they appear to act as if there existed a "just price" described by their share of the votes even when they are demanding more. They are willing to benefit from the favorable position in which they find themselves, but the very words "benefit" and "favorable" imply a comparison with some standard or expectation.

CONCLUSIONS

To summarize the results, the theory was generally successful in predicting the *initial choices* of those players who were members of the predicted winning coalition. Thus, Red, Blue, and White's choices in Convention Two and Green and White's choices in Convention Three corroborated the hypotheses. However, Yellow, in Convention Three, chooses in direct opposition to the prediction.

The theory was not successful in predicting the initial choices of those players who were *not* members of the predicted winning coalition. Thus, we failed to predict successfully Yellow and Green's choices in Convention Two or Red and Blue's in Convention Three.

We were successful in predicting the final coalitions in Convention Two but not so in Convention Three. However, we were able to predict which among the three-man winning coalitions would occur in Convention Three and to predict choices and coalitions in later stages. In other words, the predictions were generally correct in those groups in which Yellow and Blue did not join initially.

Thus, the theory is generally supported with two important exceptions. First, there is an important variable involved which the theory neglects—the risk or difficulty involved in alternative coalition strategies. Subjects frequently preferred a strategy which took only one step for successful completion to one which required two steps.

A single player bargaining with a coalition realized that, if he failed to reach an agreement, a successful alternative strategy would require two steps. If the other players had a coalition as well, his alternative required only one step and his previous disadvantage in bargaining vanished. Similarly, Yellow and Blue in Convention Three frequently joined in the only winning coalition which could be completed in a single step. One might speculate that this occurred *only* 25 per cent of the time because it was the least *cheap* of the minimal winning coalitions.

The second exception to the general support of the theory was the failure to predict the choices of those whom the theory predicted would not be included in the final coalition. These people had an interesting duality of strategy, for if they followed the predicted strategy *and everyone else did also,* they would be excluded from the winning coalition. They might benefit the most by an error if they followed the predicted strategy. Still, by joining quickly themselves, they might hope to gain the advantage of the earlier coalition.

One method of formulating the regularities in a process as complex as coalition formation is to add variables to an incomplete formulation and, thus, successively to approximate a completely adequate theory. It is possible to include both of the exceptions mentioned in a more general variable which can be incorporated into the theory. Instead of assuming that all coalition strategies are equally difficult, it might be possible to assign probabilities of success to each alternative.

While considerable care would be required in the assignment of definitive probabilities of success for alternative strategies, an example might indicate the direction of such an attempt in this particular situation. Every bargaining session has a certain probability of success. While this is to some degree variable, for practical purposes it could be treated as a constant. Then, if this figure were, for example, 3/4, a two step strategy would have only 9/16 probability of success instead of the 3/4 probability of a one step strategy.

Similarly, those not included in the predicted winning coalition might not assume that all other players are equally likely to choose them. It may be more reasonable to assume that the reciprocity of choice necessary for entrance into the bargaining room is more likely to come from others who are excluded from the predicted coalition. The assignment of precise probabilities offers difficulties but even rough approximations would help to explain the major deviations from the present theoretical predictions.

The estimated payoff to an individual from any prospective coalition would then be a product of three factors instead of two. The share and the total payoff would be considered as before, but now the probability of the prospective strategy being successfully executed would also be part of the product.

FAMILY STRUCTURE AND ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION *

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The relationship of four demographic factors—family size, ordinal position, mother's age, and social class—to the socialization process and their impact upon the development of achievement motivation is examined in a study of two independent samples of young boys and their mothers. The data were obtained by means of a projective test, personal interviews, and group administered questionnaires. An analysis of the data indicates that these demographic variables are relevant to the development of achievement motivation, but their effects are complex, intricately interconnected with one another, and difficult to assess individually.

THIS paper is a study of the relationship of certain demographic factors to family structure and personality development. Specifically, it examines the ways in which family size, ordinal position, mother's age, and social class influence the quality and quantity of patterned parent-child interaction and their impact upon the development of achievement motivation.

Achievement motivation has been defined as the redintegration of affect aroused by cues in situations involving standards of excellence.[1] Such standards are typically learned from parents who urge the child to compete against these standards, rewarding him when he performs well and punishing him when he fails. In time parental expectations become internalized, so that when later exposed to situations involving standards of excellence the individual re-experiences the affect associated with his earlier efforts to meet them. In our culture, the behavior of people with strong achievement motivation is characterized by persistent striving and general competitiveness.

Recent empirical data show that strong achievement motivation tends to develop when parents set high goals for their child to attain, when they indicate a high evaluation of his competence to do a task well, and impose standards of excellence upon problem-solving tasks, even in situations where such standards are not explicit. This complex of socialization practices has been called *achievement training*. Also related to achievement motivation is another set of socialization practices called *independence training*. This type of training involves expectations that the child be *self-reliant* in situations where he competes with standards of excellence. At the same time the parent grants him relative *autonomy* in problem-solving and decision-making situations where he is given both freedom of action and responsibility for success or failure. The role of independence training in generating achievement motivation is exceedingly complex and can only be understood in the context of what appears to be a division of labor between the fathers and mothers of boys with high achievement motivation. Observation of parent-child interaction in an experimental problem-solving situation has shown that both of the parents of boys with high achievement motivation stress achievement training. When compared with the parents of boys with low achievement motivation, it was found that the fathers and mothers of boys with high achievement motivation tend to be more competitive and interested in their sons' performance; they set higher goals for

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[1] D. C. McClelland, J. Atkinson, R. Clark, and E. Lowell, *The Achievement Motive*, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1953.

him to attain and have a greater regard for his competence at problem solving. They also react to good performance with more warmth and approval, or with disapproval if he performs poorly. The pattern changes with respect to independence training. Much of this type of training comes from the father, who (in an experimental situation at least) expected his son to be self-reliant in problem solving, and gave him a relatively high degree of autonomy in making his own decisions. The mothers of boys with high achievement motivation, on the other hand, were likely to be more dominant and to expect less self-reliance than the mothers of boys with low motivation.

It appears that the boy can take, and perhaps needs, achievement training from both parents, but the effects of independence training and sanctions (a crucial factor determining the child's affective reaction to standards of excellence) are different depending on whether they come from the father or mother. In order for strong achievement motivation to develop, the boy seems to need more autonomy from his father than from his mother. The authoritarian father may crush his son—and in so doing destroy the boy's achievement motive—perhaps because he views the boy as a competitor and is viewed as such by his son. On the other hand, the mother who dominates the decision-making process does not seem to have the same effect, possibly because she is perceived as imposing her standards on the boy, while a dominating father is perceived as imposing himself on his son. It may be that mother-son relations are typically more secure than those between father and son, so that the boy is able to accept higher levels of dominance and hostility from mother than father without adverse effect upon his achievement motivation. It should be remembered, however, that while the mother of a boy with high achievement motivation is willing to express hostility at poor performance she is also more likely to show approval and warmth when he does well then is the mother of a boy with low motivation.[2]

A number of investigators have remarked upon the differences in parent-child relationships associated with certain demographic characteristics of the family. It has been said that life in a small family is more competitive than in a large family, and that the parents of the former are more likely to have higher aspirations for their children and to place a greater stress upon personal achievement. Furthermore, fathers of small families, particularly in the middle class, are described as less authoritarian than those of large, lower class families. With respect to the variable of ordinal position, early born children are said to be reared more anxiously, to be more "adult-oriented," and to command more of their parents' attention than later born. And as regards parental age, it has been noted that parents as they grow older have less energy to enforce their socialization demands. They are also said to be more indulgent and solicitous, placing less emphasis upon self-reliance and achievement in child rearing. For these and other reasons which will be spelled out in more detail, this study hypothesized that (a) children from small families will tend to have stronger achievement motivation than children from larger families, (b) early born (first or only) would tend to have higher achievement motivation scores than later born, and (c) children of young mothers would tend to have higher motivation than the children of old mothers.

RESEARCH PROCEDURE

The data for this study were collected from two independent samples. The first was a purposive sample of 427 pairs of mothers and their sons who resided in four Northeastern states. This sample (which we will call Sample "A") was deliberately designed to include subjects from a very heterogenous population.[3] The interviewers, all of whom were upper-classmen enrolled in two sociology courses, were instructed to draw respondents from six racial and ethnic groups: French-Canadians, Greeks, Italians, Jews, Negroes, and white Protestants, as well as from various social classes. Most of the mothers and all of the sons were native-born. The boys ranged in age from 8 to 14, with a

[2] The above two paragraphs are paraphrased from B. C. Rosen and R. D'Andrade, "The Psychosocial Origins of Achievement Motivation," *Sociometry*, 22 (September, 1959), pp. 185–218.

[3] Cf. B. C. Rosen, "Race, Ethnicity, and The Achievement Syndrome," *American Sociological Review*, 24 (February, 1959), pp. 47–60.

mean age of about eleven. At a later date, a second group of respondents (Sample "B") was obtained in connection with another and larger research program by interviewing systemically virtually the entire universe of boys, nine to eleven years of age, in the elementary schools of three small Northeastern Connecticut towns. This sample of 367 subjects had a mean age of about ten years, and was much more homogeneous with respect to race and ethnicity. All the respondents were white, and predominantly Protestant or Roman Catholic. Also, the interviewers were two carefully trained graduate assistants employed specifically for this purpose. For both samples, the respondent's social position was determined by a modified version of Hollingshead's Index of Social Position, which uses the occupation and education of the main wage-earner, usually the father, as the principal criteria of status. Respondents were classified according to this index into one of five social classes, from the highest status group (Class I) to the lowest (Class V).

A measure of the boy's achievement motivation was obtained by using a Thematic Apperception-type test.[4] This projective test involves showing the subject four ambiguous pictures and asking him to tell a story, under time pressure, about each one. The stories are then scored by counting the frequency of imagery about evaluated performance in competition with a standard of excellence. This test assumes that the more the individual shows indications of connections between affect and evaluated performance in his fantasy, the greater will be the degree to which achievement motivation is a part of his personality. The boys in both samples were given this test privately and individually. In the case of the first sample the testing was done in the home; in the second at school in a private office. The subject's imaginative responses were scored by two judges, and a product-moment correlation between the two scorings of .86 for the first sample and .92 for the second was obtained.

For Sample "A", information about the size of the family, ordinal position of the boy, mother's age, and occupation-education characteristics of the father was obtained from the mother in personal interviews in the home. In the case of Sample "B", these data were secured from the boy through questionnaires administered in the classroom. Data on the age of mother are lacking for subjects in Sample "B", as the boys were frequently uncertain of their mother's age.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

Family Size and Achievement Motivation. Considering the sociologist's traditional and continuing concern with group size as an independent variable (from Simmel and Durkheim to the recent experimental studies of small groups), there have been surprisingly few studies of the influence of size upon the nature of interaction in the family. However, such studies as do exist (Bossard's work especially) strongly point to the importance of family size as a variable affecting the socialization process in ways that are relevant to the development of achievement motivation. In fact, when comparing small and large families, investigators tend to regard what we have called achievement and independence training as among the more important criteria differentiating one type of family from the other.[5]

The small family has been described as a planned unit driven by ambition. Middle class small families are regarded as particularly oriented towards status striving and upward mobility. To achieve this end, the parents stress planning and achievement not only for themselves but for their children as well. Considerable attention can be given to the child's progress in the small family since its limited size affords the parents a relatively greater opportunity to devote more of their time and effort to each child than would be possible in the large family. In fact, life in

[4] The test was administered under neutral conditions, using pictures 33, 26, 9, 24 in that order. For more information about this test see, D. C. McClelland, *et al., op. cit.*

[5] See, for example, J. H. Bossard, *Parent and Child,* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953; J. H. Bossard and E. S. Boll, "Personality Roles in the Large Family," *Child Development,* 26 (March, 1955); D. E. Damrin, "Family Size and Sibling Age, Sex, and Position as Related to Certain Aspects of Adjustment," *The Journal of Social Psychology,* 29 (February, 1949) pp. 93–102; R. Stagner and E. T. Katyoff, "Personality as Related to Birth Order and Family Size," *Journal of Applied Psychology,* 20 (May-June, 1936) pp. 340–346.

many small families seems to be organized around plans for the child's development and future achievement. There may be, for example, an intense concern with his performance in school. In such families, parental reaction to the child's success or failure in competition with his peers is frequently immediate and strong. Evidences of achievement are likely to be lavishly applauded and rewarded, while failure will elicit numerous signs of parental disappointment or displeasure. Of course, the parent's motives are not always altruistic. In some cases the child's achievements serve to improve the family's status or may represent the working out through the child of the parent's unfulfilled personal aspirations. McArthur suggests that children in small families are sometimes "exploited to fulfill the expectations, even the frustrated desires of the parents." [6] Whatever the motives may be, and surely they are many and complex, it seems safe to say that in cases where parents are ambitious for themselves and their children, we may expect to find much emphasis upon standards of excellence, coupled with expectations for high achievement and intense parental involvement in the child's performance. Competition with standards of excellence, and rivalry with peers and siblings are, in fact, oft noted characteristics of the behavior of children from small, particularly middle class, homes.[7]

The pattern of independence training known to be related to the development of achievement motivation is also believed to be more characteristic of life in the small family. The achievement-oriented values of parents of small families and their recognition of the importance of self-reliant mastery for advancement in our competitive society will cause them to urge the child to be self-reliant *in situations where he competes with standards of excellence*. Also, the small family is said to be more democratic and relatively free from the authoritarian, patriarchal leadership that is more common to the large family. In the small family, particularly in the middle class, the parent typically seeks to obtain the cooperation of the child through the employment of conditional love and the manipulation of guilt feelings rather than by the use of coercion. Of course, the very intensity of parent-child relations in this type of family, especially between mother and son, sets definite limits to the child's freedom of action. But an intensely involved, "pushing" mother appears to promote the development of achievement motivation in boys. It is the authoritarian father, not the mother, who represents a greater threat to the boy and inhibits the development of achievement motivation.

The large family is a different social system, both qualitatively as well as quantitatively. The larger number of persons in the group creates a greater degree of interdependence between members and an increased need for cooperative effort and consensus. The precarious equilibrium of the large family would be threatened by excessive emphasis upon competition and achievement. Rivalry exists, of course, but it must be muted. Hence, in contrast to the small family, the large family is more likely to value responsibility above individual achievement, conformity above self-expression, cooperation and obedience above individualism. Children are more likely to be disciplined for the sake of family harmony than to assure their meeting achievement goals. Bossard maintains that there is a greater degree of specialization of roles in the large family. Each child tends to become functionally specialized, his behavior being more influenced by the family division of labor than by parental aspirations for achievement. He notes that his material on the large family contains "little mention of a child who excels at large, as is so com-

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[6] C. McArthur, "Personalities of First and Second Children," *Psychiatry*, 19 (February, 1956), pp. 47–54.

[7] Cf. M. Mead, *And Keep Your Powder Dry*, New York: William Morrow and Co., 1943, especially Chapters VI–VII. The variables examined in this paper do not, of course, exhaust the list of possible causal factors. It is quite possible that other demographic factors, such as the number and ordinal position of male and female siblings and the number of years separating each child, may also be important. Furthermore, non-demographic factors, such as parental values, could also play a significant role in the development of achievement motivation. Thus family size and achievement motivation may *both* reflect the achievement oriented values of the parents. We know, also, that other persons besides parents, for example, peers, play an important part in the socialization process. Cf. B. C. Rosen, "Multiple Group Membership: A Study of Parent-Peer Group Cross-Pressures," *American Sociological Review*, 20 (April, 1955), pp. 155–161.

mon with small family children; there is little comparison with neighbor's children; there is emphasis on duty, not spectacular achievement." [8]

As the size of the family increases, better internal organization and a higher degree of discipline are required. It is perhaps for this reason that the authoritarian father is often associated with the large family system. But in families where the father is overly-dominant the amount of autonomy permitted the son will be severely curtailed. The child will have little opportunity to experience the pleasures of autonomous mastery that appear important to the development of strong achievement motivation. On the other hand, although the child may not be granted very much autonomy in the large family, he typically receives considerable training in self-reliance. In the large family the child normally receives a smaller amount of attention and surveillance from his parents than would be the case in the small family. Hence, he is expected to be self-reliant, but usually in areas involving self-care-taking (e.g., feeding, dressing, amusing and defending oneself) rather than in situations where he competes with standards of excellence. Research has shown that self-reliance training in caretaking areas is not related to high achievement motivation.

In view of these differences between the socialization practices of parents with families of different sizes, we predicted that the children from small families would tend to have higher achievement motivation than those from large families. To test this hypothesis, we divided the families into three groups. Families with one or two children were called "small," those with three or four children "medium," and those with five or more children "large." This procedure was performed for both samples. In Table 1 are shown the boys' mean achievement motivation scores, cross-tabulated by family size and social class [9] for samples "A" and "B". The data tend to support our hypothesis, especially for subjects in sample "A". Considering for the moment only the means for family groups without regard to social class, we find a clear inverse relationship between family size and achievement motivation: the mean score for boys from small families in sample "A" is 5.43, medium families 4.64, and large families 2.48. Thus, the mean score of boys from small families is more than twice as great as that of boys from large families, and the mean score of boys from medium size families almost twice as great. The difference between the scores of boys from large families and those from medium and

[8] J. H. Bossard, *The Large Family System*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1956.

[9] An analysis was made to determine the relationship of religion and race to family size, since achievement motivation is known to be related to these factors. (See footnote 3.) It was found that Roman Catholics and Negroes have larger families than white Protestants, Greeks, and Jews. But these differences virtually disappear when social class is controlled. For example, in the middle class the average number of children in Negro families is 3.0, Catholic families 2.7 as compared with 2.5 for Greek, 2.6 for Jews, and 2.8 for white Protestants. In the lower class the differences are somewhat larger but not statistically significant: Jews 2.1, Greek 2.4, white Protestants 3.0, Catholics 3.3, and Negroes 3.6. This finding is one reason why social class was introduced as a controlling variable throughout this study.

TABLE 1. MEAN ACHIEVEMENT SCORES BY FAMILY SIZE AND SOCIAL CLASS

	Sample A*				Sample B**			
	Family Size				Family Size			
Social Class	Small	Medium	Large	$\bar{x}$	Small	Medium	Large	$\bar{x}$
I–II	5.20	6.41	2.33	5.46	7.28	7.93	2.25	7.11
III	6.49	6.14	5.83	6.28	7.67	7.36	6.13	7.32
IV	5.06	3.40	2.82	4.00	6.33	6.15	7.29	6.29
V	4.57	3.67	1.48	3.31	4.15	5.00	2.00	4.69
$\bar{x}$	5.43	4.64	2.48		6.61	6.57	6.22	
N	178	193	54		155	166	45	

* Information lacking for two cases.

** Information lacking for one case.

small families is statistically significant at the .001 level. However, the difference between small and medium families is not statistically significant. Social class is also related to achievement motivation, as has been reported elsewhere,[10] and, in fact, accounts for more of the variance ($F=5.67$, $P<.01$) than family size ($F=3.70$, $P<.05$). However, for sample "A", the relationship between family size and achievement motivation tends to persist even when social class is controlled. An internal examination of the table reveals that for each social class, in eleven out of twelve cells, the boys from small families have the highest mean scores, with somewhat lower motivation scores for boys from medium size families, while the scores of boys from large families are the lowest in every social class.

For sample "B", the relationship of family size to achievement motivation is also an inverse one (small family 6.61, medium 6.57, large 6.22), but the differences between groups are small and statistically insignificant. Social class continues to be related significantly to achievement motivation—this time at the .05 level—and displays a pattern identical to that found in Sample "A": the highest score is in class III, a somewhat lower score in class I–II, with progressively declining scores in classes IV and V.

There are other similarities between samples "A" and "B". For example, the *rank* of mean scores for class I–II and III are similar for both samples. That is, in class I–II the relationship between family size and motivation is curvilinear: highest score in medium size families, a somewhat lower score in the small family and a considerably lower score in large families. In class III there is an inverse relationship between motivation and family size: the smaller the family the larger the motivation score. Furthermore, in both samples the large size families in classes I–II and V have the lowest scores of all groups. Why should this be so? Perhaps because at both extremes of the status continuum the pressure to excel is not so intense; there may be less stress on striving, less emphasis on standards of excellence and fewer pressures on the child to compete with them, possibly because in one class the need to succeed is not as great, and in the other because the objective possibility is so limited.

Generally, then, boys from large families tend to have lower achievement motivation than those from small and medium families (with one exception: class IV in sample "B"), but it must be added that any statement about the relationship of family size to achievement motivation would be on firmer ground if the F ratio for sample "B" had been statistically significant.

Birth Order and Achievement Motivation. Influenced, perhaps, by Freud's observation that "a child's position in the sequence of brothers and sisters is of very great significance for the course of his later life,"[11] a considerable number of researchers have studied the relationship between ordinal position, socialization and a variety of personality characteristics. Though sometimes conflicting, many of their findings have relevance for a study of the development of achievement motivation.[12]

A disproportionate degree of attention has been concentrated on the first born, so that an impressive amount of data has been collected on this position. While the term "achievement training" is not used explicitly, several studies indicate that the first born child (i.e., eldest child in a family containing two or more children) typically receives more achievement training than the later born. To begin with, the amount and degree of interaction between parent and first born is likely to be large and intense. Also, as the only child (at least for a time), he is the sole object of parental expectations. These tend to

[10] See B. C. Rosen, "The Achievement Syndrome: A Psychocultural Dimension of Social Stratification," *American Sociological Review*, 21 (April, 1956), pp. 203–211.

[11] S. Freud, *A General Introduction to Psycho-Analysis*, Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1938, p. 182.

[12] A. Adler, "Characteristics of First, Second, and Third Child," *Children, the Magazine For Parents*, 3 (May, 1928), pp. 14–52; H. E. Jones, "Order of Birth," in *Handbook of Child Psychology*, C. Murchison, editor, Worcester: Clark University Press, 1933; M. H. Krout, "Typical Behavior Patterns in Twenty-six Ordinal Position," *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 55 (September, 1939), pp. 3–30; J. P. Lees, "The Social Mobility of a Group of Eldest-born and Intermediate Adult Males," *British Journal of Psychology*, 43 (August, 1952), pp. 210–221; R. R. Sears, "Ordinal Position in the Family as a Psychological Variable," *American Sociological Review*, 15 (June, 1950), pp. 397–401.

be high, and sometimes involve an overestimate of the child's abilities, in part because there are no other children to provide a realistic standard against which his performance may be evaluated. This may lead the parent to accelerate his training, a process which receives further impetus with the arrival of younger siblings. Thus, it has been noted that the first born child tends to talk earlier than the later born. Koch has found that first born children are more competitive than the later born.[13] Furthermore, in part because of his greater access to his parents, the first born tends to become intensely involved with them and very sensitive to their expectation and sanctions. The first born child has been described as "adult-oriented," serious, conscientious and fond of doing things for his parents, while the second born is said to be more "peer oriented."[14] Of course, this close association may make him more dependent upon his parents, although with the advent of younger siblings he is likely to receive considerable and even abrupt independence training. Frequently, where the family is large, the oldest child will act as a parent-surrogate, and is given very early self-reliance training, so that at times he may behave more like a responsible little man than a child. However, in the absence of achievement training this type of self-reliance training is likely to generate a personality oriented more towards accepting responsibility than striving for achievement.

In the beginning, the positions of the oldest and the only child are identical—neither have siblings, and one would expect that their socialization experiences would be similar. This is likely to be the case with respect to achievement training, although the only child will miss the extra push that the oldest child receives with the advent of the next-born. The major difference seems to be with respect to independence training. Only children are said to be anxiously trained: some are reared over-strictly, others are excessively indulged. They run the risk of being "smothered" by their parents and of becoming excessively dependent. An over-dominated child may be only externally driven and "run out of gas" as soon as parental pressures are removed. The excessively indulged child may simply not internalize the expectations of his parents. Thus, Sears reports that "high conscience" is found more frequently in children whose parents employed both rewards and punishments than among children who experienced only rewards.[15] In either event, the only child is not likely to receive the training in self-reliance and autonomy that is more frequently the experience of the oldest child with several siblings.

The socialization experiences of the youngest child may involve considerable achievement training, for with approaching freedom from child care the mother tends to accelerate the youngest child to the level of mastery attained by his elder siblings. Thus, Lasko found, in comparing second children who are youngest with second children who have younger siblings, that parents tend to accelerate the younger in a two child family to the level imposed upon the oldest child.[16] Where there were younger sibs no such attempt was made, since the parents were able to estimate more realistically the child's capabilities. The youngest child, however, does run considerable risk with regard to independence training. Research in this connection indicates that parents are more warm and solicitous towards the youngest child than towards other children in the birth order. The youngest child is likely to be pampered, over-protected, and over-indulged, not only by his parents but also by elder siblings. Such indulgence and over-protectiveness is antithetical to the development of achievement motivation, which requires that parents set and enforce high expectations for achievement, self-reliance, and autonomy.

Very little has been written about the socialization of the intermediate child in the birth sequence. Perhaps this is because the intermediate child is not so much a fixed position in the birth order as a residual cate-

[13] H. L. Koch, "Some Personality Correlates of Sex, Sibling Position and Sex of Siblings Among Five and Six Year Old Children," *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, 52 (August, 1955) pp. 3–50.

[14] C. McArthur, *op. cit.* p. 54.

[15] R. R. Sears, E. E. Macoby and H. Levin, in collaboration with E. L. Lowell, P. S. Sears and J. W. M. Whiting, *Patterns of Child Rearing*, Evanston: Row, Peterson, 1957.

[16] J. K. Lasko, "Parent Behavior Towards First and Second Children," *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, 49 (February, 1954), pp. 97–137.

TABLE 2. MEAN ACHIEVEMENT SCORES BY BIRTH ORDER AND SOCIAL CLASS

	Sample A*					Sample B**				
	Birth Order					Birth Order				
Social Class	Only	Oldest	Intermediate	Youngest	$\bar{x}$	Only	Oldest	Intermediate	Youngest	$\bar{x}$
I–II	3.50	6.03	4.28	5.34	5.46	5.33	7.76	5.76	8.29	7.11
III	8.50	6.38	5.61	5.62	6.28	9.83	6.63	7.16	7.88	7.32
IV	2.92	3.73	4.02	4.70	4.00	3.91	7.36	7.27	4.29	6.29
V	4.14	3.36	2.89	4.95	3.31	4.28	5.84	4.21	2.66	4.69
$\bar{x}$	5.08	4.97	3.45	5.12		5.41	7.02	6.59	5.97	
N	36	162	103	124		31	139	106	90	

* Information missing for two cases.

** Information missing for one case.

gory. The intermediate child could be anyone of several children in the ordinal sequence; e.g., the second child in a three-child family, the third or fourth child in a five-child family, and so on. Despite this ambiguity, there has been some speculation that the position of the intermediate child is the most comfortable in the birth order.[17] There is less pressure on the intermediate child to conform to the levels of mastery attained by his siblings and less anxiety about his development. Furthermore, the intermediate child is more likely to come from a large family than a small family; he must, of course, come from a family with at least three children. It is probable, then, if our observations about socialization in the large family are correct, that his training will involve a greater emphasis upon cooperation and responsibility than on achievement.

Given these descriptions of the socialization experiences associated with different positions in the birth order, we predicted that achievement motivation would be highest among boys who are oldest in the birth sequence, somewhat lower among only and youngest children, and lowest among the intermediate boys. As can be seen in Table 2, the data do not confirm our hypothesis. It is true that the mean score for oldest boys in sample "B" is higher than those for other ordinal positions, as predicted. But, unfortunately for our hypothesis, the oldest boys in sample "A" have a lower mean score than only or youngest although the differences between the positions are very small and statistically insignificant. The intermediate boys in sample "A" have the lowest mean score, again as predicted, but in sample "B" their mean score is higher than that for only or youngest boys. Most significant is the fact that an analysis of the variance for each sample revealed that the effects of ordinal position are not statistically significant. The effects of social class, however, are statistically significant; at the .01 level for sample "A", and the .05 level for sample "B".

Since family size has been shown to be related to achievement motivation, it occurred to us that the difference between these two samples might be a function of the effects of this variable. That is, perhaps the oldest boys in sample "A" come from large families, while those from sample "B" tend to be from small families. Similarly, youngest and intermediate boys in the two samples might also come from families of markedly different size. We decided to introduce family size as a test variable. Table 3 shows the relationship between birth order and achievement motivation with family size and social class controlled. Class III has been grouped with classes I–II, and class IV with class V in order to reduce the number of cells without cases. We will call the former group middle class, the latter group lower class. Only the data derived from sample "A" are presented. Unfortunately, the smaller number of cases in sample "B" made a multivariate analysis of this complexity impossible—there proved to be too many empty cells or cells with very few cases—so we were not able to test our hypothesis about the different composition of the two samples. Only children, for whom

[17] W. Toman, "Family Constellation as a Basic Personality Determinant," *Journal of Individual Psychology*, 15 (November, 1959), pp. 199–211.

TABLE 3. MEAN ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION SCORES BY BIRTH ORDER, FAMILY SIZE AND SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Class I–II–III			Social Class IV–V		
	Family Size			Family Size		
Birth Order	Small	Medium	Large	Small	Medium	Large
Oldest	5.82	7.52	5.75	4.31	2.86	1.00
Intermediate	*	5.44	10.00	*	3.43	1.96
Youngest	5.94	5.21	2.00	5.93	3.90	2.84

* There are, of course, no intermediate children in a two-child family.

of course family size is not a variable, are also not included.

Table 3 shows how perilous it is to speak about the relationship of birth order to achievement motivation without taking into account the influence of family size and social class. For each ordinal position, with the exception of only two out of seventeen cells, achievement motivation declines as the size of the family increases. The decline is greatest and most consistent in the lower class. For example, the mean score for oldest children from small families is 4.31, medium families 2.86 and large families 1.00. Similar consistent declines also apply to lower class intermediate and youngest children. The motivation score of the youngest child is most consistently affected by family size: the mean scores for both middle and lower class boys who are youngest in the birth sequence decline as the size of the family increases. In the middle class, the mean score for youngest boys from small families is 5.94, from large families 2.00. In the lower class the score for youngest boys from small families is 5.93, from large families 2.84. On the other hand, only in the lower class does family size affect the scores of the oldest child. In the middle class, the mean motivation scores for oldest boys increase from 5.82 in small families to 7.52 in medium families and drop negligibly to 5.75 in large families. But in the lower class the scores for oldest boys drop rapidly as family size increases: small family 4.31, medium 2.86, large 1.00.

Why should family size have this differential effect? Probably because the socialization practices associated with ordinal position vary with the size of the family and its social class. We have noted that oldest children in large, lower class families are often expected to be parent-surrogates, performing some of the child-rearing duties for which the overburdened parents have neither the time nor energy. This condition is especially likely to occur when both parents are working (as is increasingly the case for both middle and lower class families), and are unable or unwilling to hire help. In situations where the mother is absent from the home, or where one parent is missing for some reason, the oldest child must frequently assume her functions. Often he must defer his own ambitions and gratifications in order to help raise the family and to insure the education of younger siblings. Under these conditions a concern with training him for achievement may go by the board. In the middle class, however, financial pressures are not as likely to force parents to place so much of the burden of child-rearing on the oldest child. If the mother is working, it is usually possible for the family to hire someone to perform some of her functions.

The situation is quite different for the youngest child. In large families the youngest child is frequently indulged, over-protected, and may in general be exposed to few of the socialization experiences associated with the development of high achievement motivation. *In this connection it is particularly interesting that the impact of family size on achievement motivation scores of boys who are youngest in the birth order appears to be more important than social class.* The pervasive achievement orientation of the middle class, which may have been responsible for the maintenance of relatively high scores among oldest boys of large middle class families, seems *not* to have had the same effect on the youngest child; i.e., the youngest child from a large family has a lower mean achievement motivation score than any other middle class group.

Social class seems clearly to influence the impact of family size on ordinal position and

achievement motivation. As we have noted, *in the lower class* the scores for oldest, intermediate, and youngest children all decline as family size increases. This decline is more precipitate among oldest than intermediate or youngest children. Also the mean motivation scores of the youngest and intermediate boys are higher than those for oldest children. Thus in the lower class the mean scores for youngest boys is as follows: small family 5.93, medium 3.90, large 2.84. The scores for oldest boys are consistently lower: small family 4.31, medium 2.86, large 1.00. But *in the middle class* the scores for oldest children are higher than those for intermediate and youngest, except in small families where the score for youngest children is slightly and negligibly higher.

It is difficult to assess the relative effects of these three variables—ordinal position, family size, and social class—since unfortunately the empty cells in this table make an analysis of variance impracticable. But it appears probable that social class is the greatest and most consistent factor, followed by family size and ordinal position.

Mother's Age and Achievement Motivation. When considering the relationship of mother's age to the achievement motivation of the child, the question arises as to the nature of the changes that occur in the socialization process with increments in the parent's age. Systematic data on this factor are exceedingly skimpy, although the frequent use of such terms as "young mother" or "old mother" suggest that the parent's age is commonly considered important.[18]

Perhaps the most obvious difference between young and older women is that of sheer physical stamina. Older mothers on the average have less energy to cope with very young children, who normally seethe with activity, and may have difficulty enforcing their socialization demands. It is said, also, that older mothers tend to be more solicitous and indulgent towards children than their younger counterparts. The older mother, particularly where the child represents a long delayed fulfillment, may be unwilling to make strong demands upon her child for self-reliance and achievement. Or, if the demands are made, she may not enforce them with the negative sanctions that appear important to the development of achievement motivation. The tendency for the young mother, on the other hand, especially in the middle class, to be intensely competitive about the speed with which her child learns to master his environment—as compared with his peers—has excited frequent and disapproving comment. She may, for example, constantly compare her child's skill in walking or talking with that of his playmates. Later in school, his performance relative to that of his peers is closely watched and strong pressure may be exerted if he falls behind. Where the competitive spirit is not a factor, the young mother may accelerate her child's training simply through inexperience and an inability to correctly gauge his abilities. It was for these reasons that we hypothesized that children of younger mothers would tend to have higher achievement motivation than those of older mothers.

In order to test this hypothesis the mothers were divided into three age groups: mothers 34 years of age or less are called "young," those between 35 and 44 "middle age," and those 45 years or more "old." These data were obtained only from subjects in sample "A", where it was possible to interview the mother personally.

Table 4 shows the relationship between mother's age and the boy's achievement motivation with social class controlled. An analysis of variance of the data revealed that mother's age is significantly related to achievement motivation ($F=5.56$, $P<.01$). The effects of social class are also significant ($F=5.79$, $P<.01$): *within all mother's age groups* the boy's mean achievement motivation scores decline as the mother's status de-

TABLE 4. MEAN ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION SCORES BY MOTHER'S AGE AND SOCIAL CLASS

	Mother's Age			
Social Class	Young	Middle	Old	$\bar{x}$
I–II	5.00	5.57	6.50	5.65
III	9.14	5.78	6.18	6.32
IV	2.37	4.78	3.58	4.01
V	0.57	4.33	2.87	3.43
$\bar{x}$	3.61	5.09	4.75	
N	75	266	69	

Information missing on seven cases.

[18] See J. H. Bossard, *Parent and Child*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953.

TABLE 5. MEAN ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION SCORES BY MOTHER'S AGE, FAMILY SIZE AND SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Class I–II–III			Social Class IV–V		
	Family Size			Family Size		
Mother's Age	Small	Medium	Large	Small	Medium	Large
Young	7.64	7.33	*	4.32	0.02	0.33
Middle	5.79	5.70	4.50	5.58	4.29	2.70
Old	5.86	7.60	5.33	3.81	3.53	2.36

* No cases.

creases, except for a slight increase from class I–II to class III. However, our hypothesis that the children of young mothers would have higher achievement motivation scores than those of older mothers was not confirmed. Disregarding social class, the relationship between mother's age and the boy's motivation is curvilinear: children of young mothers have the lowest mean scores (3.61), those of middle age mothers the highest (5.09), and the sons of old mothers the intermediate score (4.75). However, when social class is controlled the picture becomes quite confused. In class I–II, the achievement motivation scores of the boys increase as mother's age increases—just the opposite of what we had predicted. However, in class III, the reverse is true: the boys of younger mothers have higher scores than those of old mothers.

Some of this confusion is reduced when family size is introduced as a specifying variable. The data in Table 5 show the relationship of mother's age to son's achievement motivation when the variables of social class and family size are controlled. In small size families the sons of young mothers have higher mean scores than the sons of old mothers, but this relationship is reversed as the size of the family increases. In medium and large size families of both the middle and lower classes, the sons of old mothers have higher scores than the sons of young mothers. The effect of increased family size, however, is much greater in the lower than in the middle class and greatest of all upon the sons of young, lower class mothers. Thus, the mean scores of the sons of young, lower class mothers drop precipitately as the size of the family increases: from 4.23 in small families to 0.02 in medium size, and 0.33 in large families. The mean scores of the sons of older mothers also decline as family size increases, but the drop is more modest; i.e., small family 3.81, medium family 3.53, large family 2.36. Why should the motivation scores of sons of young mothers be so much more adversely affected by increased family size than are the scores of sons of older mothers? Perhaps because the children of a young mother with a large family are all young, so that the older children are not able to provide much help in taking care of younger siblings. In this case the young mother, particularly if she is lower class and unable to obtain help, may simply be overwhelmed. She will have little time or energy for the supervision and complex training in achievement that the development of achievement motivation requires.

The introduction of family size as a specifying variable requires a rephrasing of our original hypothesis about the relationship of mother's age to achievement motivation. Our prediction that the sons of young mothers would have higher motivation than the sons of old mothers is correct *but only when the family is small and primarily when the parents are middle class*. As the family increases in size, the motivation scores of children of older mothers are higher than the scores of children of younger mothers, and indeed in the lower class the sons of middle age mothers have the highest scores of all.

CONCLUSION

Perhaps the most important generalization to be drawn from this study is that it is exceedingly unwise to single out any one demographic factor as an explanation of achievement motivation. It is true that social class is consistently related to achievement motivation: the data show that the motivation scores of classes I–II–III boys are significantly higher than are the scores of boys

from classes IV–V. Also, we have noted time and again that boys from small families tend to have higher achievement motivation than their peers from large families. But the effects of social class and family size, as well as the impact of birth order and mother's age, can only be properly understood in a large context in which all of these variables (and others, undoubtedly) interact.

For example, the impact of family size on the boy's achievement motivation varies with his social class. It was shown that while, in general, motivation scores decline as family size increases, the effect of family size on motivation scores is much greater at the upper-middle (class I–II) and lower class (class V) levels than at the lower-middle (class III) and upper-lower class (class IV) levels. Furthermore the effect of birth order is intimately related to family size and social class. Hence it is not very helpful in predicting an individual's achievement motivation to know his position in the birth order—indeed this information may be misleading rather than useful—unless the social class and size of his family of orientation are also known. In small middle class families, for example, the effect of ordinal position seems to be relatively unimportant: the oldest and youngest child in a two-child, middle class family have almost identical motivation scores, but *as the size of the family increases* the scores for the oldest child *in the middle class* become higher than those for the youngest child. However, *in the lower class* the reverse is true: the youngest child has a higher achievement motivation score on the average than the oldest child—a position that is maintained even when the size of the family increases. Similarly, the effect of mother's age upon the child's achievement motivation varies with the size of her family and social class. Thus the hypothesis that the sons of young mothers would have higher achievement motivation than the sons of old mothers proved to be correct, *but only when the family is small.* As the size of the family increases, *particularly in the lower class,* the scores of sons of young mothers drop rapidly and are surpassed by the scores of sons of middle age and old mothers.

These data, then, indicate that the demographic factors examined in this study have relevance for the development of achievement motivation, but their effects are complicated, interconnected, and interdependent upon one another, and difficult to assess individually.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION AND MOBILITY IN A SOUTH ITALIAN TOWN *

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The "judge's" technique is used to derive the stratification system of a Calabrian town. Six classes seem to emerge. The rise of the upper two can be traced to early nineteenth century, when a handful of peasants came to own the land they operated. The two middle classes are largely the result of emigration abroad. Class V represents the traditional peasant estate. Class VI consists largely of laborers. Social mobility within a decade is then measured with a scale of placement criteria which correlates highly with the "judge's" technique. Families of emigrants are found to have been significantly more upwardly mobile than other families. The principal factors explaining their mobility are property and other highly valued social symbols that money from abroad could buy. The operation of these factors is assisted by a strong mobility ideology rooted in a traditional reaction against the "smug behavior" of traditional superiors.

THE stratification system of a South Italian town and the relationships between emigration and social mobility within the town are the focus of this cross-cultural study.

THE COMMUNITY

Stefanaconi is a rural town of 2,300 population. It is located in the Catanzaro province

* This paper is based on a part of the author's unpublished doctoral dissertation, "Effects of Emigration on the Social Structure of a Calabrian Community," Yale University, 1960.

of Calabria, approximately 230 rail miles south of Naples and six road miles east of the Tyrrhenian Sea. Close to 90 per cent of the people are engaged directly in, or are dependent upon, agriculture. Those remaining are artisans, professional people, shopkeepers, occasional laborers, and "loafers." Most of the local land is in the hands of absentee landlords; therefore, the vast majority of those engaged in agriculture rent their land for money or kind.

Until the turn of this century Stefanaconi had little or no direct contact with the rest of the world. Like most other rural communities of South Italy, its most important contact with the outside world was provided by the priest and by a handful of *signori* (professionals, nobles, etc.) who were present in the village at one time or another. These were of recent peasant background, but their schooling in urban centers made them *persone per bene:* refined, intelligent, beautiful, superior, leisurely, learned. Their wealth, their education, and their newly acquired tastes and customs combined to present a strong stimulus for emulation. The contrast with the subsistence-like life of the rest of the population was great. Further, the *signori* behaved so as to deepen the chasm between them and the rest of the people, for the peasant's life had until recently been theirs, and now it must be forgotten at all costs. Envy, on the one hand, and resentment, on the other, accumulated in the less fortunate Stefanaconians. It is quite likely that later these two factors, envy and resentment, combined with economic factors to show the way of the Americas to many hundreds of Stefanaconians.[1]

With the coming of the present century the almost complete isolation of the village broke down. The principal factor involved was the famous wave of Italian emigration that reached its peak around 1913. Between 1890 and 1940 around 300 Stefanaconians left for the Americas, mostly for the U.S.A. By and large, they were young unmarried men in the best of their years and energy. A few among the earlier and more successful worked abroad a few years and then returned to Stefanaconi where they bought ten or twenty acres of land, acquired a two-story house, and in some cases sent at least one of their sons to receive a higher education and at least one of their daughters to the seamstress shop. Their style of life soon became a token of a new class.

The two World Wars, and particularly World War II, brought hundreds of Stefanaconians in contact with various societies and cultures. Especially as prisoners of war among the English-speaking peoples, they often experienced life situations which contrasted sharply but favorably with their previous life in Stefanaconi. As a result, the motivations of old were reinforced, and when at the end of the last war, several countries opened their doors to the Italian immigrants, Stefanaconians emigrated in large numbers. Due to the inadequacy of the village records, it is impossible to establish the exact number, but it can be reasonably estimated that at least 1,000 have found their way out of Stefanaconi since 1946. Of these, about half have migrated to South American countries, mostly Argentina and Brazil, and the rest have migrated to Australia, Canada, or the United States of America. Stefanaconians very rarely migrate to other parts of Europe or even Italy itself.

A treatment of the class structure of a given social system at a given time should, whenever possible, include the "historical basis" of the actual social stratification system, for it is very likely that "classes coexisting at any given time bear the marks of different centuries on their brow."[2] About the social system of Stefanaconi we can say that until the end of the last century it was stratified along the three estate lines of professionals and "nobles," artisans and merchants, and peasants. These estates were largely hereditary, endogamous groups, and contact between them was limited to certain types of mutual services such as those inherent in land tenure contracts, the filling of a government form for a fee, or the exchange of a measure of wheat for a pair of handmade shoes.

Consciousness of membership in one of the three estates was strong among all the resi-

[1] Joseph Lopreato and Domenico Lococo, "Stefanaconi: Un Villaggio Agricolo Meridionale in Relazione al Suo Mondo," *Quaderni di Sociologia,* (Autumn, 1959), pp. 239–260.

[2] Joseph A. Schumpeter, *Imperialism and Social Classes,* New York: Augustus M. Keeley, Inc., 1951, p. 145.

dents. Pride in this membership among the "nobles" and professionals, and to a less extent also among the artisans, was very marked. Only the peasant showed little or no pride. This was due to various factors: excessive poverty resulting from the scantiness of the rented land; a beast-like type of labor due mainly to the heavy reliance on a human-power technology; complete separation from public affairs *(funzioni civili)* reflected in the peasant's sustained absence from the village during daylight hours; and an almost complete dependence on the capital of others for a minimal livelihood.

Only a very small number among the peasants had succeeded by the beginning of the past century in rising above the socio-economic position of the mass of peasants. These were the small owner-operators who originated from contracts of emphyteusis, or perpetual lease.[3] Gradually they had managed to come into the possession of small parcels of land, and when the small profits of their labors no longer had to be turned over to landlords, they invested these in a team of oxen, in an ox-cart, and often in a wooden plough. By local standards, these items constituted considerable capital, which in turn also required the construction on the land of at least a straw barn to protect the animals from the elements and the owners themselves from thieves. Their settlement on the land now made its cultivation more effective and profitable.[4] The *massari,* as these peasants came to be called, became an elite group within the peasant estate. Their labor frequently resulted in sufficient wealth to enable them to send one son to the university or to the theological seminary.

The resulting small group of professionals in turn gave rise, through their "superior" behavior and style of life, to an impulse in the general population to cross estate lines. This perhaps has been the main motivating force of Italian emigration. As Vincelli [5] suggests, the Italian emigrant has had a goal to reach at all costs, namely that of improving his social position.

We are here at the juncture in the evolution of Stefanaconi society in which the traditional norms and values inherent in the stratification system are seriously questioned and the estate system begins to emerge as a class system. By this is meant that the awareness of membership in one estate is now often accompanied and modified by an active attempt, or a struggle, to achieve membership in another or at least to drop membership from one's own.

Concomitant with this reorganization of the normative system was a segmentation of the existing status structure into a larger number of cross-sectional (cutting across estates) status groups. Differential prestige of families within the social system as a whole came to be recognized more on the basis of the capacity to acquire, distribute, and control goods and symbols thereof than on the identification with a given occupation. This is to say that the previous system of social differentiation within occupational estates came to be replaced largely by a system of social differentiation *across* occupational estates.

STRATIFICATION PROCEDURES [6]

With a few variations, the stratification procedures used in this study replicate the "judge's" technique developed by Hollingshead in Elmtown.[7] A sample of 120 females [8] representing 120 nuclear families, were interviewed to determine the role of emigration in the social mobility of families. During the

[3] According to article 1556 of the Italian civil code, "emphyteusis is a contract whereby a piece of land is granted in perpetuity or terminally to a person who agrees to improve the land and pay a yearly fee in money or kind." (author's translation). The grantor may be the State, the Church, the commune, or the private proprietor, and on occasion the grant has been made with the single condition of land improvement. In any case, proprietorship under this system has frequently been ill defined, and a school of thought has existed which recognizes the grantee as the absolute owner. For a brief discussion of emphyteusis, see *Enciclopedia Italiana,* Vol. XIII, p. 983.

[4] The vast majority of South Italian peasants have traditionally lived in a village, while commuting every day to and from their land.

[5] Guido Vincelli, *Una Comunità Meridionale,* Torino: Casa Editrice Taylor, 1958, p. 234.

[6] For a full treatment of the procedures used, see Lopreato, *op. cit.*, chap. 3.

[7] August B. Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth,* New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1949, chap. 2.

[8] These females held the status of "wife." The interview of a female sample was preferred because, as will appear later, the male head, as an emigrant, was absent from many of the families studied.

interview they were asked to describe the stratification system of the town. The first 36 were given no help other than being asked to cite "the number of social classes in Stefanaconi." Despite the fact that interviews were carried out in the local language, the subjects were ill at ease and quite uncommunicative. After considerable hesitation, the tendency was either to name the three occupational estates of "professionals, artisans, and peasants," or to dismiss the question with a "don't know," typically qualified by *abbastanza* (a sufficient number). The author attributed the subjects' reticence to a variety of factors: (1) their unfamiliarity with the term "classe," (2) their unfamiliarity with a highly structured interview situation in which they were forced to "think out from scratch" a complex phenomenon such as the stratification system; and (3) the possibly unsettled nature of the stratification system, only recently emerged from a feudal-estate orientation.

After the first 36 interviews, the term "classe" was replaced with "classe or categoria d'importanza" (category of importance); further, in their attempt to derive a stratification system the subjects were encouraged to think of the saying that *paro para piglia* (equal marries equal). The interviewees became at once more articulate, and close to 50 per cent of those remaining viewed the stratification system as consisting of six classes.

The analysis of the 120 interviews later revealed that the subjects, in presenting a six-fold system, frequently and consistently cited certain local families as reference families or representatives of the six classes. Furthermore, a common set of criteria was used in classifying these families. These placement criteria were then grouped under five general headings: (1) wealth and possessions; (2) family name; (3) achievement of family head or of children in a given occupation; (4) general behavior of the family—this included family solidarity, "hard work," "modern views"; (5) general importance of the family—this included reputation, prestige, and *rispetto*.

Next, the list of placement criteria was presented to 10 independent raters to help them classify the reference-families, or "control list." Eight of the ten judges agreed on a six-class system. Moreover, there was almost perfect agreement as to the class position of the control list between these eight judges and the original interviewees who provided the control list.

Finally 23 additional persons were selected to act as final raters. It was found that 20 out of 23 also saw a six-class system on the basis of the control list and the placement criteria. These 20 judges were then asked to find for each of the 120 families in the sample "the best possible equal" from the control list.[9] Appropriate averaging of the 20 ratings for each family in the sample resulted in the distribution presented by Table 1.

TABLE 1. CLASS DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE FAMILIES ACCORDING TO JUDGES' RATINGS *

Class	Families	Percentage of Total
I	3	2.5
II	4	3.3
III	25	20.8
IV	40	33.3
V	33	27.5
VI	15	12.5
Total	120	99.9

* As a test of agreement among the 20 judges, Kendall coefficient of concordance was computed, deriving a value of W=.854.

What is "the real stratification system" of Stefanaconi? When the people of Stefanaconi themselves are asked to derive the local stratification system by bearing in mind the factor of intermarriage, about fifty per cent of them isolate six classes. In so doing they cut across occupational lines, which without the factor of intermarriage tend to provide a less detailed stratification system, namely, the three-estate system. Either is probably valid depending on the interest of the re-

[9] The 20 judges were distributed as follows: sex—9 males, 11 females; class according to Composite Scale (see below)—2 in I, 2 in II, 4 in III, 5 in IV, 4 in V, and 3 in VI. No significant difference was found among the judges on the basis of either sex or class. The lack of significant difference on the basis of class is somewhat surprising. Very likely, the simple task of matching sample families with control list families minimized the problem of invidious comparison and forced "a realistic appraisal." For a more complete set of characteristics of the 20 judges, see Lopreato, *op. cit.*, Appendix III.

searcher. The present study was concerned with social mobility; for this purpose a six-class system is more useful than a three-estate system.

A further justification for accepting a six-class system is the fact that, unlike the sample subjects, the raters were not asked to utilize the factor of intermarriage in their classification of families. Rather their task was to classify a specific, small, and select number of families on the basis of a specific number of placement criteria provided by the sample subjects themselves. Eighty per cent of one set of judges and eighty-seven per cent of the other agreed on a six-fold system. It would seem that the task of deriving a stratification system is rendered easier if the factor of intermarriage is utilized, and it is further facilitated if subjects are encouraged to think of a small number of specific families as referents and a number of placement criteria as guides.

SELECTED CULTURAL CHARACTERISTICS OF CLASSES

Class I—There are, in all, four or five families in Stefanaconi who are thought to have been *signori* for a long time. There is perfect agreement among Stefanaconians about the class position of these families. They are referred to as "the best," the "aristocrats" and accordingly are deferred to by everyone. Characteristically these are the families who live in *palazzi* (palaces), masonry structures consisting of two stories and containing upward of ten rooms.

Class I families are the third-or-fourth-generation descendants of *massari* families. Family name and education are, therefore, the most important determinants of membership in this class. Their professional forefathers began their careers in Stefanaconi as doctors, priests, pharmacists, or schoolteachers, and their occupations were often inherited for two or three generations either by their offspring or by the offspring of close relatives. The tendency, however, is for present-day professionals to look toward the cities of central and northern Italy for their professional activities; therefore, with two exceptions, Class I families spend only their summers in Stefanaconi, mainly because this arrangement allows them to look after their local property interests.

Throughout the decades, Class I families accumulated considerable property in dwellings and in land. The houses and the land have been rented out to the peasants, but more recently, coinciding with the gradual disappearance of these families from Stefanaconi, they have been gradually sold, contributing thus in part to the rise of a new upper class and in part also to the rise of a land-owning middle class.

Members of this class never "err" in classifying themselves; further, they perceive a "social chasm" between themselves and the rest of the population. Unlike members of the other classes, among whom interaction tends to be general and easy, Class I families interact with members of other classes only rarely, and then only on a purely contractual-legal basis. Characteristically they address all others informally while on their part they demand, and generally receive, the utmost deference.

The orientation of Class I families is to the national culture, and they tend to think of themselves as Italians rather than as Stefanaconians or even Calabrians.[10] They have little or no interest in local affairs, and although their prestige is very high and commands deference by the rest of the population, their power must be gauged indirectly by the effects of their control of much of the local land. But this also is disappearing, for the recent and heavy wave of emigration has left much unworked land in Stefanaconi. In any case, time and the industrial-urban development of Italy have been attracting these few families away from Stefanaconi, and a new upper class is arising.

Class II—This class consists of 3.3 per cent of the total; it is severally referred to as the class of "the rich," "the families of so many professional children," and "the schoolteachers." With regard to the schoolteachers, it is interesting to note that although members of the professional estate, they are not placed in Class I. This is due mainly to two

[10] It may be interesting to suggest here a comparison between the national and the local stratification systems. If we may think of a six-class system for the whole of Italy, the local members of both classes I and II would very likely fall in the national class III, or the upper middle class.

factors: (1) they lack a university degree; (2) they lack professional lineage. In each case the present social position of Class II families has been *achieved* within the life span of the present family head.

The typical family of this class is aware of the social distance between itself and Class I, but it aspires to membership in this class and identifies with it; consequently, it makes an active effort to "command the respect" that the upper class commands automatically. Class II members are not always willing, however, to verbalize this social distance, and in interviews they sometimes explain that Class I families are "like a fungus—parasitic, unnecessary, useless."

Class II families view high status in the community in terms of a monopolization of authority and power; the desire to "get there first" is very strong; the competition is fierce.[11] Today two Class II men are fighting each other bitterly for the office of mayor. One, the incumbent mayor, is a married schoolteacher, member of a family of *massari;* the other is an unmarried young doctor whose father, also a *massaro,* has in his lifetime succeeded in accumulating considerable wealth: more than 100 acres of land, an olive press, two threshing machines, and a tractor. In addition he has sent, or is about to send, all of his numerous children to the University. The high status of his family is in great part due to the "complete professionalization" of the family.

Class II families have no *palazzi,* but their houses are new and spacious; furthermore, they have been among the first in the community to acquire the new conveniences deriving from the city such as bathtubs, electric heaters, gas stoves, refrigerators, and automobiles.

There is some disagreement among Stefanaconians—both judges and sample subjects—in classifying the families falling in this class. This is due in part to the social mobility of these families and in part also to the factionalism that the struggle for authority and power among Class II families creates in the general population. This factionalism, in turn, attests to the fact that Class II families have not yet achieved the coveted social standing and concomitant prestige of a Class I position.

Class III—The members of this class are "those who can afford to live well," "the old Americans," "the massari," "the artisans," "the well-to-do," and "the solid citizens." The basic objective differences between this class and the preceding one lie in the greater education of the family heads of the former or in their larger property holdings. A number of Class III members fail, however, to see any class difference between themselves and the class above and tend to resent Class II's efforts to "take over the village."

At present Class III families constitute about 21 per cent of the families in the community. They include most shopkeepers and skilled artisans,[12] the few local clerks, most *massari* families, those families of emigrants who own between 16 and 40 acres of land, and several families with one or two children who are university graduates. With the exception of a few *massari* and artisan families who have held a middle class position for several generations, most Class III families owe their present class position to the conversion of the proceedings from emigrant relatives into appropriate social symbols, such as commodious dwellings, landed property, and education of children. Class III members who have been upwardly mobile are oriented towards the top class, but they recognize that they have "a long distance to travel." Some older members hope, however, that a university education will enable their children to achieve a Class I position for themselves.

An important characteristic of this class and the class directly below it is that they represent a relatively recent and still current development in Stefanaconi (indeed in much of South Italy) of a small group of landed proprietors among the peasants. This means that for some time to come these two classes will be an important source of personnel for the clerical and professional occupations.

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[11] This is an interesting parallel to a finding by Hollingshead in Elmtown: "The class II man focuses his attention upon the aggressive manipulation of economic and political processes. . . ." *Op. cit.,* p. 90.

[12] Stefanaconians distinguish between three degrees of skill. This is done along both the role and the status dimensions. Thus, for instance, certain masons are reputed more skillful than others, but also masons and cabinetmakers as a group tend to be considered more skillful than shoemakers and barbers.

A number of Class III families are very wealthy by local standards, being worth as much as $10–15,000. Their wealth is in turn a source of considerable power and prestige, for they are frequently the landlords; they are the families who can offer "a good marriage"; and above all they are the local money lenders.

Class IV—The members of the prior three classes tend to be detailed in their perception of the local class structure. The sample includes 32 such families, or 26.7 per cent of the total. Of these, 25, or 78.1 per cent, perceive at least five classes, and 17, or 53.1 per cent, perceive six classes. Beginning with Class IV the perception of social distinctions becomes less marked. The three lower classes are represented by 88 families, or 73.3 per cent of the total sample; of these only 24, or 27.3 per cent, perceive six classes. This is partly due to the fact that the 36 subjects interviewed prior to the introduction of the factor of intermarriage were members mostly of the three lower classes. Nevertheless, when we exclude the first 36 interviews from the computations, we find that only 38.3 per cent of the three lower classes and a total of 66.7 per cent of the upper three classes perceived six classes.

A large number of Class IV families occupied a Class V position until about a decade ago, at which time one or more of their male members emigrated. They are an upwardly mobile group who have experienced a radical change in wealth, possessions, and general style of life within this last decade. Moreover, the probability is high that within the next two decades a large number of these families will achieve a Class III position, and a few will perhaps even reach a Class II position. The number of children from this class who are seeking a higher education is relatively large, representing almost half of the approximately 80 Stefanaconi youngsters who are pursuing studies beyond the five grades of school available locally.

Perhaps because they anticipate their future social position, and because of the heavy emphasis that they place on the one variable of money as a factor of "social importance," many of these families tend to see but one class above their own. On the other hand, because of their tendency to make a conspicuous display of their newly acquired wealth, and because of their on-going mobility, they are the families about which the judges disagree most in assigning a class position.

Class IV consists largely of small land owners (from 6 to 15 acres of land) and a few artisan families either without a house of their own or without sufficient skill to be considered "first-degree" craftsmen. They are severally referred to as the class of "the new Americans," "those who are almost as important as the old Americans," or "those who are becoming important now." "The old Americans" were involved in emigration mostly prior to 1920; "the new Americans" were involved in the post-World-War-II emigration.

Class V—About 27.5 per cent of Stefanaconi families fall in this class. With few exceptions these are tenants or petty proprietors owning no more than five acres of land. Unlike the members of the class above them, who "are getting somewhere," and the members of Class VI, who are "utterly destitute," the members of this class are thought of, and consider themselves to be, "respectable workers" who "never seem to make enough for the basic family needs." They distinguish sharply between themselves and Class VI members, whom they characterize as "vagabondi" (lazy-do-nothings), "famished," and in some cases even "half-witted," or "morally loose."

Like Class IV above, Class V has been a main source of emigrants in recent times and, therefore, a springboard into the higher classes. Thus Class V families tend to have numerous relatives in the higher classes. These kinship ties appear to be important in preventing Class V members from seeing detailed social distinctions in the class structure; members of this class often stress their kinship to families in the higher classes and claim equality to them. A large number of them have the tendency to divide the population into the three conventional estates of professionals, artisans, and peasants. A few of them speak of those above them as "those who live in comfort" and of themselves as "the mass of workers." This may be due to their historical function as caretakers of other people's land and to their awareness of themselves as farm tenants who in early spring find themselves with much work to do and a food supply too inadequate to provide

the necessary energy. This class indeed represents that section of the population that most closely resembles the peasant estate as it existed prior to the turn of the present century. While Classes I and II are products of the "massaro splinter group," and Classes III and IV largely the products of the old and new emigration respectively, Class V is the product of centuries of servility to landlords whose land they work for a relatively constant mode of subsistence. Their prestige in the community is, therefore, very low, though their esteem as a group is very high as a result of the contrast seen as existing between them and members of the bottom class.

Class VI—This class constitutes about 12.5 per cent of the population and is generally thought of as a group of "destitute," "very poor," "half-witted," or "lazy-do-nothings." They in turn think of themselves as "poor and unfortunate Christians" and as "honest workers who have been forsaken by God." This is a class of laborers, "errand boys," scavengers, and "loafers." They perform seasonal tasks on farms as farmhands (olive pickers, wheat cutters, etc.); they assist the village masons; or they run errands for one or the other of the local shopkeepers.

Perhaps because of their almost absolute dependence on the occasional errand or the *giornata* (a day's hire) for their subsistence, the members of this class are the most deferential in the community. For them there is in the village an extravagant number of "Don's," "Donna's," and "professori." Yet it is the members of this class who more than others recognize two classes alone: "the poor" and "the rich." [13] They frequently explain that "we are all products of the earth." When asked what single factor more than any other makes up for "social importance" in Stefanaconi, their answer almost invariably is "money."

Many Class VI members resent their position at the bottom of the class structure and in interviews readily engage in genealogical reconstructions. Families of recent emigrants are sometimes singled out by them as cases of those who "only yesterday were our dear friends at dinner time, and now they won't even talk to you."

SOCIAL MOBILITY [14]

As was stated above, this study sought to investigate effects of emigration on the local stratification system.[15] Accordingly, the sample was divided into three groups on the basis of degree of contact with emigrants. The first group consists of 41 families claiming as emigrant at least husband or unmarried child. The second group contains 40 families in which one or both parents claim as emigrant one or more relatives of the following types: parent, sibling, married child. Finally, the third group consists of 39 families without emigrant relatives or with emigrant relatives of a lesser degree than any of the above.

Two major restrictions were imposed on the sample: (1) in order to control for the effects of the previous emigration, any family in which either or both parents could claim in the old emigration one or more members of their families of procreation or of orientation was excluded from the sample; (2) in group I were included only those families whose claimed emigrant relatives had migrated within the period 1947–1951 and had spent at least eight years abroad. This restriction was made in order to allow possible changes as much time as possible to become measurable. Because of this latter restriction, group I actually includes the total population of families meeting the necessary requirements.[16] In the case of the other two groups, larger numbers were available, and the families used were drawn randomly from the respective totals.

In order to measure social mobility, an ob-

[13] An analogous finding is made by Katherine Archibald. In her study of shipyard workers, Archibald found that "The shipyard worker's antagonism to authority increased in direct ratio with his external servility. . . ." See Katherine Archibald, "Status Orientations Among Shipyard Workers," in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour M. Lipset, editors, *Class, Status and Power*, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1953, p. 397.

[14] For a fuller treatment of this topic, see Lopreato, *op. cit.*, chaps. IV–VI.

[15] In order to be able to work with an easily controllable period, only emigration since the end of World War II was included.

[16] With only seven exceptions, the migrants had gone to one of the following: Australia, Canada, United States. South American countries are poorly represented because these countries have encouraged the migration of whole family units.

TABLE 2. SOCIAL MOBILITY OF FAMILIES FROM BASE YEAR TO 1959, BY DEGREE OF CONTACT WITH EMIGRANTS

Degree of Contact with Emigrants*	Upward	Stable	Downward	Total
I	22	18	1	41
II	1	35	4	40
III	2	36	1	39
Total	25	89	6	120

$\chi^2=26.88$; 2 d.f.; $p<.001$.

* χ^2 computed with group I and with groups II and III combined. using the Kolmogorov-Smirnov two-sample test. Hereafter, we shall refer to this χ^2 as χ^2D.

jective technique was required that could permit classification of each family both in 1959, the time of the study, and in the year of emigration, hereafter referred to as the "base year." [17] This was derived in the following manner. After each judge had classified the 120 families, he was asked to state what kind of family he would have put in each class if he had not been given "things to keep in mind." In varying degrees all stated a number of characteristics which they "would have kept in mind" for each of the six classes. Despite minor variations the judges appeared to be guided by a common set of criteria in placing families in a given class. "Common denominators" that were objective or easily objectifiable were chosen for each of the six classes, and a six-class Composite Scale was constructed. The emphasis in the Scale is mostly on landed property, but education of family head or children, occupation and skill therein, and residence area are also important.[18]

When the Composite Scale was found to correlate highly [19] with the "judge's" technique, the former was used to classify families both in the present and in the past, obtaining thus a measurement of social mobility.

Table 2 clearly demonstrates that group I, in contrast to the other two groups, has experienced a high degree of upward mobility during the period under study.[20] Moreover, it is evident that a family's contact with emigrants is related to its upward social mobility only in those special cases in which the migrants are members of that family as a nuclear family. This is because upward social mobility has been due to relatively large remittances of money from emigrants and to the highly valued social symbols which "money could buy." To better appreciate the importance of money and the resulting social symbols, we shall make comparisons within group I itself.

TABLE 3. AVERAGE YEARLY AMOUNT OF MONEY (IN DOLLARS) RECEIVED BY FAMILIES FROM EMIGRANTS, BY TYPE OF SOCIAL MOBILITY

Type of Mobility	0–500	501–1,000	1,001 and Over	No Answer*	Total
Upwardly Mobile	0	9	12	1	22[a]
Others	4	12	1	2	19[b]

χ^2D=9.86; 2 d.f.; $p<.01$.

* Not included in the computation of χ^2D.

[a] Yearly average per family: $1,150.

[b] Yearly average per family: $675.

Tables 3, 4, and 5 demonstrate that those families which have been upwardly mobile have also received the most money from their emigrant relatives abroad. This money has been converted into highly valued social symbols whereby those who have received more money have also experienced more gains in the quality of their dwelling and in landed property. With regard to this latter,

[17] For those families not involved in emigration, the year 1949 was arbitrarily used as the base year.

[18] See Lopreato, *op. cit.*, Appendix Two.

[19] Kendall rank correlation coefficient was used as a measure of the degree of correlation between the two sets of ranks, giving T=.76; z=3.4; p=.0003.

[20] It may be noted here that the three groups had different class distributions in the base year; while groups I and II were concentrated mainly in classes IV and V, group III was concentrated mostly in classes V and VI. Thus the question arose whether social mobility was related to class position in the base year. The three groups were compared by holding class constant, and the differences among them continued to be significant at the .001 level.

TABLE 4. CHANGES IN DWELLING SINCE BASE YEAR, BY TYPE OF SOCIAL MOBILITY (PERCENTAGES IN PARENTHESES)

Changes in Dwelling	Upwardly Mobile	Others
New and better dwelling or remodelling with added rooms or other items, such as indoor toilet and fountain	14 (63.7)	5 (26.3)
Improvements without added rooms, such as repair of walls, floors, façade	5 (22.7)	6 (31.6)
No change	3 (13.6)	8 (42.1)
Total	22 (100)	19 (100)

$\chi^2=6.44$; 2 d.f.; $p<.05$.

computations on the basis of precise information show that whereas the mean holding for the upwardly mobile group has increased from 3.4 acres to 16.6 acres, the mean holding for the remaining families has increased only from 3.7 to 6.4 acres.

Money and property are very highly valued by Stefanaconians. It is perhaps for this reason that a ten-year period has been sufficient to show such measurable changes in the local stratification system. There is a saying in Stefanaconi that very few interviewees fail to mention in speaking of class differentiation: "Chi non ha non è" (He who has not is not). When they are asked about the meaning of this saying their answer tends to be that "money makes the blind sing." When pressed further they explain that "with money one can buy the important things of life." An unusually articulate and imaginative member of group III put it as follows:

> Give me money and I shall be as good as the best. I shall send my son to the University of Rome; I shall eat steak every day, and four other dishes besides; I shall get a servant; I shall buy the whole territory of Stefanaconi; and I might even build a castle. Money is all I need.

TABLE 5. AMOUNT OF LAND OWNED BY FAMILIES AT BASE YEAR AND IN 1959, BY TYPE OF SOCIAL MOBILITY

	Upwardly Mobile		Others	
Acres	Base Year	1959	Base Year	1959
0	12	4	13	10
1–10	8	6	3	5
11–20	1	8	2	1
21–30	0	2	1	3
31–40	1	0	0	0
41 and over	0	2	0	0
Total	22	22	19	19

When interviewees are asked to state what factor more than any other they think accounts for "social importance" in the community, 67.5 per cent of them mention either money or property; 17.5 per cent indicate a secondary or college education in a member of the family; 8.3 per cent suggest family name; while the remaining mention a variety of factors such as "good behavior" and "honesty."

The relationship between emigration and social mobility could be more clearly explained in the following way: when emigrants leave their nuclear families behind, a substantial portion of their earnings abroad are sent to their families; the remittances are invested in the local economy in the form of property and education; the result is a highly valued improvement in the total style of life of the recipients of money and, consequently, an improved social position in the local class structure. This is to say that "in the long run wealth and social class position tend to be congruent with one another, because wealth is a most effective means of commanding the social resources necessary to enter into or learn a social role and thereby achieve its associated social class position." [21]

If space permitted, it could be shown also that for Stefanaconi, a social system characterized by a strong mobility ideology, emigration also implies the diffusion of certain egalitarian beliefs supported by reference to out-groups, while these beliefs in turn imply a better self-perception and a less deferential behavior in relation to "traditional superiors." These mechanisms, together with the more tangible economic factors, provide the broad basis for the upward social mobility of families of emigrants.

Several tests were made in the attempt to explain away or to strengthen the discovered relationship between emigration and social mobility. Interviewees were asked to state whether they thought their own family had moved in the local class structure since the base year, and if so in what direction. Table

[21] Bernard Barber, *Social Stratification*, New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., Inc., 1957, p. 374.

TABLE 6. TYPE OF OWN MOBILITY PERCEIVED BY RESPONDENTS, BY ACTUAL MOBILITY AS MEASURED BY THE COMPOSITE SCALE

Actual Mobility by Scale	Type of Perceived Mobility				
	Upward	Stable	Downward	Unknown	Total
Upward	16	6	0	3	25
Stable	13	62	12	2	89
Downward	0	4	2	0	6
Total	29	72	14	5	120

6 shows that the Composite Scale and the respondents are in close agreement in their measurement of social mobility.[22] It should be added, further, that when asked to state the causes of their mobility, the upwardly mobile almost invariably mentioned emigration, or "America," as the sole cause of their mobility.

An additional test was made which involved the old emigration. There are today in Stefanaconi a number of families whose male heads at one time or another spent at least ten years in the United States. These families were listed in alphabetical order and shown to the raters, who were asked to place them in the present local class structure by the same procedure used with the sample families. Six among the oldest judges, who had spent all their life in Stefanaconi, were then asked to indicate for each family on the list how many classes that family had moved up or down since its involvement in the old emigration. The results were striking; depth interviews suggested that until just before World War I the class breakdown was radically different from the present one. By almost perfect agreement this consisted of the three estates of professionals, artisans, and peasants. A few suggested the following breakdown: professionals; shopkeepers, artisans, and *massari;* peasants; laborers and beggars. In any case, the attempt was made to project the present class system into the past and to compare the families of old emigrants to present families on the basis of the single criterion of *rispetto,* or "general importance."

[22] The judges themselves were asked to state the amount and direction, if any, of each family's mobility. These data were compared both with the scores by self-evaluation and with the scores by the Composite Scale. In both cases the agreement was highly significant.

As Table 7 indicates, whereas most families of old emigrants "would have occupied" a Class V position prior to emigration, at the present they fall mostly in Class III. Indeed all but one of the Class III families on the control list are families of old emigrants.

TABLE 7. CLASS POSITION OF FAMILIES OF OLD EMIGRANTS PRIOR TO EMIGRATION AND IN 1959

Class Position	Families	
	Past	Present
I	0	0
II	0	2
III	6	21
IV	7	9
V	19	2
VI	2	0
Total	34	34

EMIGRATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE

What is the role of emigration in social change? It is sometimes argued that emigration tends to prevent social change rather than to bring it about. The argument runs approximately as follows: emigration acts as a safety valve for population and economic pressures, for it draws from the more motivated, the more energetic, the more potentially effective agents of social change. Therefore, emigration forestalls social change.[23]

[23] See, for instance, Leonard W. Moss and Stephen C. Cappannari, "A Sociological and Anthropological Investigation of an Italian Rural Community," paper presented at Fourth World Congress of Sociology, International Sociological Association, Milan, Italy, September, 1959. For a revealing discussion "pro e contro l'emigrazione" see Francesco Compagna, *I Terroni in Città,* Bari: Editori Laterza, 1959, pp. 174–191.

However, the social changes dealt with in this paper must be considered as important consequences of emigration. Indeed it seems reasonable to conclude that the two waves of emigration in which Stefanaconians have been heavily involved have been at the very base of a change from an estate system to a class system of stratification. If other factors have been involved in this systemic change, it is reasonable to suggest that emigration has facilitated them or altogether mediated them.

PERSPECTIVE AND PARTICIPATION OF PHYSICIANS IN PREPAID GROUP PRACTICE *

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The level of participation of a stratified sample of physicians in large group medical practices serving prepaid subscribers is significantly associated with their views of clients, colleagues, and other aspects of their practice. The perspective shared by physicians with a high level of participation in this form of medical organization reveals a particular interpretation of those aspects of their practice which departed from prevalent practice and which were the focus of a history of controversy. Their interpretation is analysed as a "defensive perspective," and found to be related to the participation of professionals in emergent complex organizations.

THE movement of professionals into large-scale organizations is of considerable interest to the sociologist. The increased number of these complex organizations composed of professionals represents a significant change in the mode of distributing professional services. The rise of "professional bureaucracies" has been the object of considerable investigation. Several students have examined large-scale organizations of professionals in the fields of law, education, and science.[1] Bureaucratic practices in the field of medicine also have been intensively studied.[2] But much of this research has focused on the social structure of hospitals and medical schools. Such studies have provided important information concerning the development of professional commitments;[3] colleague sponsorship;[4] the bureaucratic characteristics of hospital organization;[5] and informal patterns of practice and evasion in the medical profession.[6] In addition,

* Financial support for this study in the form of a Commonwealth Fund Fellowship is gratefully acknowledged.

[1] Recent representative studies in these fields include Erwin O. Smigel, "The Impact of Recruitment on the Organization of the Large Law Firm," *American Sociological Review*, 25 (February, 1960), pp. 55–66; Robert C. Davis, "Commitment to Professional Values as Related to the Role Performance of Research Scientists," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1956; and Burton R. Clark, "Organizational Adaptation and Precarious Values: A Case Study," *American Sociological Review*, 21 (June, 1956), pp. 327–336.

[2] See Howard E. Freeman and Leo G. Reeder, "Medical Sociology: A Review of the Literature," *American Sociological Review*, 23 (February, 1958), pp. 73–81 for citations as well as references to recent works below.

[3] Robert K. Merton, George G. Reader, and Patricia L. Kendall, editors, *The Student Physician*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1957; and Howard S. Becker and Blanche Geer, "The Fate of Idealism in Medical School," *American Sociological Review*, 23 (February, 1958), pp. 50–56.

[4] Oswald Hall, "The Informal Organization of the Medical Profession," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, 12 (February, 1946), pp. 30–41; "Types of Medical Careers," *American Journal of Sociology*, 55 (November, 1949), pp. 243–255; and David N. Solomon, "Career Contingencies of Chicago Physicians," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1955.

[5] Albert F. Wessen, "The Social Structure of a Modern Hospital," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1950; Temple Burling and associates, *The Give and Take in Hospitals*, New York: G. P. Putman's Sons, 1956; Alfred H. Stanton and Morris S. Schwartz, *The Mental Hospital*, New York: Basic Books, 1954; William Caudill, *The Psychiatric Hospital as a Small Society*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958; and Rose L. Coser, "Authority and Decision-Making in a Mental Hospital," *American Sociological Review*, 23 (February, 1958), pp. 56–63.

[6] Hall, "Informal Organizations," *op. cit.*; and Mary E. W. Goss, "Physicians in Bureaucracy: A Case Study of Professional Pressures on Organiza-

studies of this kind have helped to delineate the role and status characteristics of practitioners in these settings. Less information is available, however, about the form of complex medical organization known as prepaid group practice.[7] Of recent origin, this pattern of practice developed when groups of doctors affiliated with insurance programs in order to distribute medical services to prepaid subscribers. The emergent pattern of organization represents a transformation in professional practice from small-scale, "fee for service" practice to large-scale practice within a complex organization. As such, these organizations provide an unusual opportunity to examine the impact of organizational change on the set of ideas and beliefs that interpret and legitimize a particular mode of professional organization. The present study focuses on a limited aspect of this change in the mode of distributing medical care. It examines the interpretation of this mode of practice voiced by physicians differentially participating in medical group practices affiliated with a metropolitan Health Plan.[8] In addition to the perspectives of doctors directly involved in this form of medical practice, interpretations voiced by officials of Medical Associations are examined in order to ascertain the functional significance of the perspective put forth by participating doctors. Thus the present study is specifically addressed to a question fundamental to organization theory: "How is the perspective of doctors involved in this form of practice related to (1) *participation:* the necessity of pursuing a distinctive pattern of practice, and (2) *interpretations:* the way distinctive features of this pattern of practice are interpreted by significant others in the community"? This question is examined in terms of two research hypotheses.

DEFINITIONS, BACKGROUND, AND HYPOTHESES

The hypotheses deal with the way doctors view their practice. Their interpretations are termed a "perspective" which consists of a recognition and an evaluation of that available range of alternatives defined by their position in an organization. The perspective, thus, is considered as structuring the doctor's definition of a particular mode of practice.[9] In addition, a perspective may be viewed as a "professional ideology" in so far as this perspective is shared by others in the same position as the doctor and to the extent that it *legitimizes* this mode of practice in terms of a shared body of professional standards.[10] In this sense ideology is considered as a linking of a normative structure—a set of ethical standards—with a concrete pattern of professional activity. Therefore, one may speak of an ideology as characterized by: (1) *concensus:* the extent to which interpretations are shared; (2) *focus:* the structure of activity which is interpreted; (3) *content:* the way a structure is evaluated in terms of a set of normative standards; and (4) *function:* the role of the ideology in buttressing a structure. In the discussion of study findings, the observed perspective of physicians is examined in terms of these characteristics of an ideology and the concept of a "defensive perspective" is introduced. This concept is taken to mean a perspective which shares some of the characteristics of an ideology. It is a partial or incomplete professional ideology. As such, it seems to characterize the

tional Roles," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1959.

[7] Few studies of this form of professional organization exist. In a recent review of the literature of medical sociology, the authors conclude, "Another area requiring research is the impact on social relations in medicine of group health plans where medical care is rendered for a prepaid sum and the physician is usually paid a salary." (Freeman and Reeder, *op. cit.*, p. 76.)

[8] See Dennis C. McElrath, "Prepaid Group Medical Practice: A Comparative Analysis of Organizations and Perspectives," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1958, Chapters II, V, VI and VII, for an enlarged description of this plan.

[9] In this definition we follow W. I. Thomas in holding that a perspective may be defined in terms of a "definition of the situation" which is a precondition to action. For recent formulations of this point see Ralph H. Turner, "Role Taking, Role Standpoint, and Reference-group Behavior," *American Journal of Sociology*, 61 (January, 1956), pp. 316–328, and Tamotsu Shibutani, "Reference Groups as Perspectives," *American Journal of Sociology*, 60 (May, 1955), pp. 562–569.

[10] On this use of *legitimacy* see Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization* [translated by A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons], New York: Oxford University Press, 1947, pp. 124–132; and Philip Selznick, *The Organizational Weapon*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1952, pp. 242–252.

perspective of physicians with a high level of participation in prepaid group practice.

The development of a defensive perspective may be outlined by considering some consequences of participation in a distinctive form of complex medical organization such as prepaid group practice. These considerations provide a frame of reference for specifying the research hypotheses dealing with the relationship between perspective and participation.[11]

When a physician becomes a member of a complex medical organization, he is required by the expectations of his office to pursue those actions which distinguish this form of organization from prevailing patterns of practice. But participation in such an organization may be a question of degree. Like the part-time professor, the group practitioner may devote only a limited part of his professional life to his medical group. Thus, only to the extent of his participation does the group doctor pursue activities distinctive of this particular form of practice.[12]

Prepaid group practice is a marked departure from traditional methods of distributing medical care to a community. In some areas, it has greatly altered the classic relations between physicians and patients.[13] In contrast to these classic relations, a collective element has been introduced into the allocation process on the level of both physicians and patients. Groups of physicians serve groups of clients through the mediating activities of diverse organizations.[14] In the Health Plan, for example, associations of employees in conjunction with associations of their employers contract with the Health Plan (basically an insuring organization) to secure a broad range of medical services. The Health Plan in its turn stands in a contractual relation to certain organizations of physicians in order to provide these medical services on a prepaid, per capita basis to the employees through their associations and, in most cases, to the members of their families.

In addition to altering the traditional mode of practice for a member physician, a high level of participation in this pattern of practice is likely to increase the visibility of the physician as a member. He is likely to become known as a "group doctor" to his professional colleagues and to their associations in the community.

The pursuit of distinctive activities and a heightened visibility, associated with a high level of participation, are important to members because some of these distinctive, visible activities may be considered controversial by various groups in the community. Indeed, the legitimacy of many activities which depart from the traditional mode is likely to be questioned in terms of the prevailing professional ideology shared by other physicians and incorporated in the policies of their associations. The group that evaluates the legitimacy of deviant professional conduct in terms of a prevailing ideology may be termed (following the conventions of reference group theory) an "audience group."[15]

Within the organizational environment of the Health Plan, audience groups that are involved in the distribution of medical care will evaluate its distribution in terms of the ideology shared by the members of their group.[16] But frequently the content of the ideology of these audiences may be at variance. Therefore, methods of distributing medical services may be diversely evaluated

[11] See McElrath, *op. cit.*, Chapter III for an elaboration of this frame of reference.

[12] Participation is here viewed in terms of involvement in a structure of action and differential association with members. Cf., Chris Argyris, "The Fusion of an Individual with the Organization," *American Sociological Review*, 19 (June, 1954), pp. 267–272; Howard S. Becker and James W. Carper, "The Elements of Identification with An Occupation," *American Sociological Review*, 21 (June, 1956), pp. 341–348; and Howard S. Becker, "Notes on the Concept of Commitment," *American Journal of Sociology*, 66 (July, 1960), pp. 32–40.

[13] See McElrath, *op. cit.*, Chapters VI and VII for a more expansive discussion of these traditional relations.

[14] The Health Plan recently announced its intention to begin enrolling individual subscribers. Cf., "H. I. P. Offers Plan for Individuals," *New York Times*, (October 18, 1960), p. 43.

[15] This use of *audience-group* follows a suggestion appearing in Turner *op. cit.*, p. 328.

[16] Our use of *organizational environment* is more inclusive than Goode's concept of the "professional community." Cf., William J. Goode, "Community Within a Community: The Professions," *American Sociological Review*, 22 (April, 1957), pp. 194–200. We include within the environment the set of all formal and informal organizations that impinge on the distribution of medical care within a containing community. Cf., Eliot Friedson, "Client Control and Medical Practice," *American Journal of Sociology*, 65 (January, 1960), pp. 374–382.

by these different audiences. For this reason, actions of physicians participating in a particular pattern of distributing medical services may be subjected to widely differing assessments by various audiences in their organizational environment.

For a doctor participating in a deviant practice, the *relevance* of these audiences is a function of the extent to which (1) he carries on meaningful interaction with members of the audience group; and (2) he is dependent on this audience in the pursuit of his professional activity.[17] Therefore, to the extent of interaction and dependency, the legitimacy of organizational action carried out by the physician may be divergently assessed by audiences of unequal relevance to the doctor.

One aspect of the role of the professional is exceedingly important in considering the relationship between physicians and audiences: the professional is expected to defend the "professional character" of his actions. This is especially the case when, in terms of professional standards, the legitimacy of these actions is called into question by an audience that is highly relevant to the doctor's pursuit of professional activity. In such a case, it seems highly probable that physicians who continue to participate in a controversial mode of practice must attend to this questioning. They are required to reconcile their visible, deviant, and questioned actions with a prevailing ideology. The perspective generated by this attempt at reconciliation may be of a very curious content: deviant organizational activity may be interpreted or reinterpreted in terms of the existing ideology; elements of the existing ideology may be questioned; and, where controversial activities can not be altered or concealed, the perspective may include reservations about the pursuit of this activity.

This elaboration of some of the consequences of participation in a large scale organization of physicians stresses the theoretical importance of three major variables: (1) *audience groups:* audiences may vary in terms of their relevance and shared ideology; (2) *participation:* participation varies in terms of the extent to which distinctive organizational activities are pursued and membership visibility is heightened; and (3) *perspective:* perspectives may vary in terms of focus, concensus, content, and function. The following two research hypotheses suggest possible relations between these variables.

I. *Perspective associated with participation.* Physicians with a high level of participation in prepaid group practice share a perspective differing in content from the perspective of physicians with a low level of participation.

II. *Perspective associated with audience.* The content of a shared perspective varies with the relevance of an audience and the ideology of that audience.

These hypotheses deal with *concensus* and *content* of a perspective in relation to participation and an audience. In the examination of both of these hypotheses the *focus* of the perspective, however, is held constant. Only those activities that distinguish prepaid group practice from the prevailing patterns of "individual practice, fee for service," and from other forms of group practice or methods of prepayment are considered in the present study. The *function* of the perspective, on the other hand, will be examined in the concluding discussion of research findings.

PROCEDURES

To test the first hypothesis the perspective of distinctive organizational activity of differentially participating doctors was observed and examined to determine if the perspective was shared and associated with the degree of participation of the doctors. The second hypothesis, however, was considerably more difficult to test. In the present study the views of a relevant audience group, the American Medical Association and affiliate organizations, were compared with the doctors' perspective. It was suggested that the relevance of this audience for the pursuit of prepaid group practice varied with the de-

[17] Cf., Turner, *loc. cit.* These interactional characteristics of relevance may be used to determine the boundaries of an organizational environment. In this sense, the "scale" of the environment is defined as the "scope of interaction and interdependency." See Geoffrey Wilson and Monica Wilson, *Analysis of Social Change,* London: Cambridge University Press, 1954 for an example of this use of "scale."

gree of participation of member physicians. Therefore, points of similarity and conflict between the views of differentially participating physicians and the interpretations of the medical associations were examined in terms of a reconciliation process. Comparisons of doctors' perspectives in a situation where the relevance of an audience varied was considered as one possible way of determining the impact of an audience and its ideology on the perspective of members.

To examine these hypotheses, therefore, it was necessary to ascertain (1) those aspects of prepaid group practice that departed from ordinary practice, and the extent to which these departures were controversial in terms of their interpretation by an audience relevant to the members; and (2) how these activities were viewed by physicians differentially participating in prepaid group practice.

Distinctive and controversial aspects of practice. An example of prepaid group practice—eight medical groups affiliated with the Health Plan—was compared with prevailing methods of distributing medical services. The organization of tasks and methods of allocating rewards that defined these different modes of practice were determined with the aid of lengthy (2–5 hour) semi-structured interviews with Health Plan personnel, a review of the findings of other workers, and by application of such conventional tools of organizational analysis as the analysis of contracts, memoranda, internal communications, job specifications, and descriptions of formal patterns of responsibility and authority. In this way the structure of the Health Plan was examined and compared with prevalent forms of practice. This comparison revealed major areas where the organization of group practice departed from prevalent forms of medical practice. These areas were considered to be distinctive of prepaid group practice when they represented a departure from prevalent methods of distributing medical care. Finally, official publications of national, state, and county medical associations along with the findings of other researchers and the statements of group doctors were used to determine how these distinctive areas of practice were assessed by an important audience of professional peers. This audience was considered as being relevant to the members of the Health Plan to the extent of their participation. Consequently, interpretations of aspects of prepaid group practice that were voiced by this audience were used to identify those features of this form of practice considered as controversial.

Perspective and differential participation. A stratified random sample of physicians in eight medical groups affiliated with the Health Plan were interviewed by the author with the aid of a semi-structured schedule. In addition, doctors in the sample completed a follow-up mailed questionnaire. The groups were partnership arrangements (except for one group where doctors were employees of a hospital), with 25 to 58 member physicians per group. Responses were elicited concerning the way these group doctors viewed distinctive and controversial aspects of their practice. The sample was stratified so that three family doctors and three specialists were randomly selected from the total membership of each medical group. No substitutions were made in the sampling. All except two physicians were interviewed—both nonrespondents were specialists caring for a large number of prepaid patients—and all 46 physicians who were interviewed returned a follow-up mailed questionnaire. Responses of these doctors were used to determine the perspectives of members who differentially participated in the Health Plan program. A measure of *participation* was decided upon after consideration of several highly intercorrelated indices.[18] The index selected for use in this study was the proportion of each doctor's clients who were subscribers to the Health Plan. If more than 60 per cent of the doctor's case load were subscribers, then the doctor was considered as having a high level of participation in this mode of practice.[19]

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[18] The discarded measures included the per cent of the total net income of a physician derived from prepaid practice, number of years of affiliation with the group, proportion of close professional friends belonging to the group, and the extent of informal visiting with other group doctors.

[19] The 60 per cent cutting point was adopted because it provided a relevant measure of the extent of participation as well as dividing the sample into nearly equal numbers of family physicians and specialists with high and low participation scores. This provided a meaningful and convenient division which minimized the effect of an important form of differentiation within the groups.

MEMBERSHIP PERSPECTIVE

A comparative analysis revealed three aspects of prepaid group practice that distinguished it from prevalent arrangements: the structure of the doctor-patient relationship; methods of payment and financing, and the structure of relationships with other physicians.[20] The way differentially participating doctors viewed each of these areas provided a test of the first hypothesis that perspective is associated with participation. Examination of the second hypothesis—perspective associated with audience—required that the views of distinctive activities elicited from group doctors be compared with interpretations of *these same* activities voiced by officials of the Medical Association. Therefore, in the following presentation of findings, a history of this audience group's interpretations of distinctive practices is juxtaposed with the interpretations elicited from members participating in the three areas that distinguished their form of practice.

Doctor-client relationship. A number of aspects of the physician-client relationship within the Health Plan departed from those characteristic of ordinary practice. Unlike private practitioners, group doctors were obliged by formal contract and by the informal expectations of their office to provide a wide range of preventive, diagnostic, and therapeutic services to prepaid enrollees. The influence of cost in deterring a patient's access to services of member physicians was minimized through the prepayment mechanism and through the wide range of benefits covered by the plan. Common methods of acquiring the services of a physician were greatly altered. Subscribers were encouraged to select their own family doctor from a list of member physicians and access to specialists was channeled through the family doctor. The traditional methods by which clients attempt to exercise control over physicians were radically altered since patient complaints were formally transmitted to the physician and were made known to the Medical Director of his group and to the administration of the Health Plan. Patients could change their family doctor with ease and these changes also were made known to the directors of the groups. Complaints and frequent changes were, in effect, made public to the doctor's professional peers within the group and occasionally resulted in the application of formal and informal negative sanctions against the physician. Control of clients was largely relegated to the mediating activities of administrators of the group and to the physician's use of referrals. In all, marked divergence from ordinary doctor-client relations was observed in terms of utilization, complaints, and the selection and changing of physicians.

These divergencies were, of course, evaluated by audiences in the medical community. The leadership of organized medicine strongly opposed any form of health insurance that altered the "traditional doctor-patient relationship." Basic organizational assumptions of the Health Plan and the activities of participating physicians were questioned by state and local medical societies on these grounds. Criticism was voiced in such terms as "a third party entering into the doctor-patient relationship" and "free choice of physicians." In brief, representatives of organized medicine objected to the range of services offered to subscribers; the method of choosing and changing doctors; and any interference with the private relationship between physician and patient. A year after the Health Plan began to provide services to its subscribers, the State Medical Society "advised" its 22,000 members in New York City "not to become participating physicians in any voluntary health plan unless it has been approved by the Medical Society of the State of New York."[21] The Health Plan was not approved. Hence, for the doctor participating in the Plan, changes in his relations with clients represented a highly controversial departure from prevalent practice.

Views of group physicians dealing with altered and controversial aspects of the doctor-client relationship were elicited. First, doctors were asked about utilization. When requested to compare prepaid subscribers with ordinary patients, doctors with a large prepaid case-load were much more likely to state that prepaid subscribers "see the doctor unnecessarily, run to the doctor for every

[20] For a complete presentation of this analysis see McElrath, *op. cit.*, Chapters II, V, VI, and VII. Only summaries are presented below

[21] *New York Times*, May 20, 1948, p. 1.

TABLE 1. DOCTOR'S VIEW OF PATIENTS, BY PARTICIPATION

Item	Doctor's View	Participation Low	Participation High	Chi Square*
A.	See doctor unnecessarily			
	Subscribers a greater problem	55%	84%	
	Subscribers not a greater problem	45	16	
	(Base number)	(22)	(19)	4.46
B.	Not enough time to handle patients			
	Apply to my practice	13%	41%	
	Not apply to my practice	87	59	
	(Base number)	(24)	(22)	4.80
C.	Complain about waiting			
	Subscribers a greater problem	19%	65%	
	Subscribers not a greater problem	81	35	
	(Base number)	(21)	(20)	8.91
D.	Change doctors too often			
	Subscribers a greater problem	10%	45%	
	Subscribers not a greater problem	90	55	
	(Base number)	(20)	(21)	6.42

* Chi square significant at the 5% level for all items.

little thing" (Table 1, item A). Doctors were also asked if "from their personal experience in the medical group [they] did not have enough time to handle their patients as they would like." Again, responses were associated with level of participation. Curiously, responses that emphasized the constraint of this aspect of their practice were more likely to be given by physicians with a high level of participation (Table 1, item B). This finding will be discussed below.

A second feature of the relationship between doctors and their clients altered by participation in prepaid group practice was a change in the complaint mechanism. Doctors' responses dealing with a common specific complaint—waiting to see the doctor—were significantly associated with level of participation. Doctors with high participation scores were much more likely to state that prepaid patients "complain *too much* about how long they have to wait in the doctor's office." Low participation score doctors, on the other hand, tended to view subscribers as less problematic or the same as non-prepaid patients. (Table 1, item C).

Finally, the selection and changing of physicians represents a third aspect of the doctor-patient relationship that distinguished group practice in association with the Health Plan from other forms of practice. Doctors were asked if subscribers were a greater problem than regular patients in that they "changed doctors too often." Again, a significantly higher proportion of doctors with a large prepaid case-load stated that subscribers were a greater problem (Table 1, item D).

An examination of Table 1 reveals the evaluative content of the perspective of doctors involved in prepaid group practices. For doctors with a high level of participation in this form of practice, prepaid subscribers are viewed as demanding, complaining too often, and occasionally needlessly utilizing the services of physicians who feel pressed for time. Responses of physicians dealing with each aspect of this controversial change in the doctor-client relationship were significantly associated with the extent of participation of the respondent.

Income and relations with an "outside" insuring agency. A second major difference between this form of practice and prevailing patterns concerns income and relations with the Health Plan. The medical groups studied offered a marked departure from prevailing fee-for-service and health insurance methods of remuneration. Income in the medical groups was derived primarily from the actions of the Health Plan. This Plan contracted with groups of subscribers to furnish a specified and comprehensive range of medical care at a fixed cost through groups of

affiliated physicians. Medical groups, standing in a contractual relationship with the Health Plan, were paid a fixed sum based on the number of subscribers who elected to be served by the group. Income within the group was distributed on a prearranged basis. Arrangements decided upon by group members tended to minimize the difference between fee-for-service and prepaid practice. There clearly remained, however, marked departures from prevailing modes of remuneration: (1) the acquisition of a clientele was relegated to an outside insuring agency; (2) groups were prepaid a regular and fixed sum regardless of their utilization by subscribers; (3) facilities and ancillary services were jointly financed by the members of the group;[22] (4) such criteria as seniority, administrative duties, professional achievements, and specialization were systematically taken into account in determining a physician's share of the group income; (5) in general, physicians received equal remuneration for equal service—there was nothing comparable to a sliding fee schedule based on the patient's ability to pay; (6) a physician's monthly income and hours of duty were fairly predictable; and (7) the ordinarily crucial role of referrals as a mechanism for accural of income was highly altered.

These departures from ordinary methods of remuneration did not go unnoticed by organized medicine. When the Health Plan was founded, spokesmen for organized medicine strongly opposed the elimination of the fee-for-service principle and the elimination of remnants of a sliding fee schedule based on the patient's ability to pay.[23] Their objections had a long history in American medicine. Quite early, "lodge doctors," "company doctors," and other forms of contract practice were strongly opposed by organized medicine because of their elimination of these principles of payment.[24] Later, with the growth of "voluntary" health insurance, efforts were made to preserve the fee-for-service and sliding fee schedule principles within these programs. These efforts took the form of direct Medical Society control of the plans, sanctioning of participating physicians, sponsoring programs, lobbying, and legislative action.[25] Remuneration thus represented a distinctive and highly controversial aspect of prepaid group practice.

Views of group practitioners concerning remuneration were assesssed by means of two questions. First, doctors were asked about limits placed on their earnings as a direct consequence of their participation in this form of practice. Doctors with a high participation score were much more likely to state that practice in the medical group placed a definite limit of their earnings (Table 2, item A). A large proportion of low participation score doctors, on the other hand, stated that their earnings were not limited as a result of their participation in the group.

Doctors caring for a large number of prepaid clients were likely to favor a form of practice where remuneration was based on the pooling of all professional earnings. Physicians with low participation scores were likely to oppose this arrangement (Table 2, item B).

In the area of remuneration, then, high participation score doctors viewed their practice as limiting their potential earnings. Nevertheless, they tended to favor a pooling of all professional earnings of members.

Relations with other physicians. A third and last area of prepaid group practice that departed from ordinary practice was apparent in the doctor's relations with other physicians. Involvement in the group altered the

[22] Except in one group where doctors were salaried employees of a group affiliated with a hospital.

[23] Jules Joskow, "Medical Care through Voluntary Insurance: The Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1953, p. 162, and Louis Feldman, "Organization of a Medical Group Practice Prepayment Program in New York City," unpublished M.A. Thesis, New York University, New York, 1953, p. 32.

[24] McElrath, *op. cit.*, Chapter II.

[25] A careful analysis of enabling legislation for "non-profit" medical care plans reveals that these laws represented attempts on the part of medical societies "to preserve the fee-for-service system as fas as possible by controlling the financial administration of the plans." Horace R. Hansen, "Laws Affecting Group Health Plans," *Iowa Law Review*, 35, (Winter, 1950), p. 209. See also, David R. Hyde and Payson Wolff, *et al.*, "The American Medical Association: Power, Purpose, and Politics in Organized Medicine," *Yale Law Review*, 63 (May, 1954), pp. 938–1022.

TABLE 2. DOCTOR'S VIEW OF FINANCIAL ASPECTS OF PRACTICE, BY PARTICIPATION

Item	Doctor's View	Participation Low	Participation High	Chi Square*
A.	Group practice limits earnings			
	Apply to my practice	21%	50%	
	Not apply to my practice	79	50	
	(Base number)	(24)	(22)	4.30
B.	Prefer doctor's pool earnings			
	Yes	37%	73%	
	No	63	27	
	(Base number)	(24)	(22)	5.74

* Chi square significant at the 5% level for all items.

physician's relationship with professional peers both within the group and outside of it. A member's income and advancement within the group was highly dependent on the actions of other group members. "In group practice," reads a typical response, "we are all tarred with the same brush." Another doctor phrased dependency in these terms: "Next to marriage, I know of nothing so close as practice in a group." Within the group, each doctor had access to records of patient care rendered by other members. Professional conduct was informally surveyed and, in some instances, the quality of medical care rendered by colleagues evoked strong criticism from fellow group members. A member's appointment to a hospital staff or his staff advancement occasionally was aided by the actions of other group members or hindered by the actions of non-group doctors. A member's non-group income was highly dependent on other physicians. Doctors in the groups usually referred their private patients to other group doctors. "It's not required," stated a Medical Director, "but it's sort of expected." On the other hand, to the extent that a doctor served prepaid subscribers and followed the informal expectations of membership, he could not reciprocate fee-for-service referrals from non-group doctors. Finally, participation in the groups increased the amount of personal interaction between group doctors. In several cases group doctors aided their colleagues in research projects, assisted them in improving their skills, supported their advanced training in a specialty, and participated in joint activities designed to increase their professional competence. For the group doctor then, his access to facilities and to rewards in the professional community—his overall professional standing—was highly contingent on the actions of colleagues within his group.

The colleague relationship was the focus of considerable attention in the medical community. In 1933 the American Medical Association conducted a survey of group practice.[26] On the basis of its findings, it held that this form of practice tended to "commercialize operations" because of the dominance of "lay employees."[27] Further, it contended that group practice frequently depended on mechanical and laboratory determination of fact, rather than on "physicians functioning with the total situation." For the most part, however, criticism of group practice was local in origin with the major issues being "specialism," "impersonal doctor-patient relations," "competitiveness," and "commercialism."[28]

During the second World War the position of organized medicine changed somewhat. The American Medical Association sponsored a questionnaire mailed to 3,000 medical officers in the Armed Services. Over half of the 927 officers returning the question-

[26] American Medical Association, Bureau of Medical Economics, *Group Practice*, Chicago: The Association, 1933.

[27] This interpretation is open to question. See McElrath, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

[28] *Ibid.*, Chapter II. Earlier criticism followed the foundation of the Mayo Clinic in 1887 and was primarily directed to viewed "over-specialization." See William M. Johnson, "A Family Doctor Speaks His Mind," *American Medical Association Bulletin*, 23 (December, 1928), pp. 234–241 for an influential article that voiced this and similar criticisms of group practice.

TABLE 3. DOCTOR'S VIEW OF RELATIONS WITH COLLEAGUES AND FORMS OF PRACTICE, BY PARTICIPATION

Item	Doctor's View	Participation Low	Participation High	Chi Square*
A.	Preferred arrangement of practice			
	Individual practice	50%	6%	
	Group practice	50	94	
	(Base number)	(20)	(17)	8.56
B.	Preferred form of practice			
	All doctors full-time	22%	52%	
	All doctors not full-time	78	48	
	(Base number)	(23)	(21)	4.45
C.	Practice permits closer relations with colleagues			
	Apply to my practice	54%	86%	
	Not apply to my practice	46	14	
	(Base number)	(24)	(22)	5.62
D.	Joining group has lowered my standing in the eyes of some of my colleagues			
	Apply to my experience	29%	64%	
	Not apply to my experience	71	36	
	(Base number)	(24)	(22)	5.50
E.	Joining group has lowered number of referrals from non-group colleagues			
	Apply to my experience	29%	59%	
	Not apply to my experience	71	41	
	(Base number)	(24)	(22)	4.18

* Chi square significant at the 5% level for all items.

naire expressed a desire to become associated in "private practice with a group of physicians" when they returned to civilian life.[29] At this time the national leadership of the American Medical Association held that there was a "place for" group practice, but that it could not "replace" individual practice. However, official resistance to "closed panel" forms of group practice continued. Groups which were affiliated with insurance programs and which required members to adhere to group standards were considered "closed panel practices." Resistance to this arrangement was vocal and occasionally reached the point of official application of negative sanctions.[30]

In the present study, views of members about different arrangements of practice were ascertained. Responses of group practitioners to questions about the "most desirable" arrangement of practice were significantly associated with level of participation. Almost all of the high participation doctors stated that group practice was the most desirable form, while low participation doctors were more likely to state a preference for individual practice (Table 3, item A). Physicians with less than 60 per cent subscribers in their total case-load also were likely to prefer "split practice" when asked about the ideal form of practice. High participation doctors, on the other hand, were likely to prefer a form of practice where "all physicians were full time with the group and cared for no outside [non-group] patients" (Table 3, item B).

Significant association with participation was also observed when group doctors were asked about their relations with professional peers. Almost all high participation score doctors agreed with the statement, "Practice in a medical group allows me to have closer

[29] "Postwar Planning: Results of a Pilot Questionnaire to Physicians in Service," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 125, (June, 1944), pp. 558–560.

[30] In 1935 the Ross Loos Clinic was censured by the California State Medical Society, a censure that was later reversed by the national society; in 1938 physicians of the Milwaukee Medical Center were expelled from their medical society; and later there were actions against doctors affiliated with the Health Plan.

and more rewarding relations with others in the medical profession." Low participation doctors were likely to state that this form of colleague relationship did not apply to them personally (Table 3, item C). Similarly, the more participating doctors tended to agree—and the less participating doctors to disagree—with the statement, "Joining the medical group has lowered my standing in the eyes of some of my medical friends" (Table 3, item D). Hostility of non-group doctors was quite apparent in the realm of referrals. Most doctors caring for a small number of prepaid subscribers stated that participation in the medical group had not lowered the number of referrals they received from non-group doctors. In contrast, a significantly greater number of practitioners caring for a larger proportion of subscribers said they received fewer referrals from doctors outside the group (Table 3, item E). They viewed this loss as a direct result of their participation in prepaid practice.

For the practitioner with a high level of participation, group practice represented a markedly altered set of relations with other doctors. Their overall perspective of these relations presented the image of a close friendly community of group doctors that bordered on the model of a university teaching hospital. Outside non-group doctors were seen as occasionally looking down on group members, as hostile and antagonistic, and as taking reprisals on group doctors by not referring fee-for-service patients to them.

DISCUSSION

It has been shown that physicians with a higher level of participation in prepaid group practice shared a perspective differing from the perspective of physicians with a lower level of participation regarding each of the three areas of prepaid group practice that departed from traditional professional practice. This finding supports the first hypothesis that participation is associated with perspective.

The second hypothesis concerned the relationship of audience group ideologies to membership perspectives. This hypothesis is perhaps best explored by considering the evaluative content of the views of physicians with a higher level of participation. Such content includes significant departures from the views of physicians with a lower level of participation.

On the one hand, the perspective of doctors with high participation scores was characterized by the theme of "complete group practice." In contrast with physicians with the lower level of participation, the more involved doctors would rather be full-time with their group; they were likely to want all group physicians to be full-time and to pool their professional earnings; they tended to view group practice as the most desirable arrangement; and they were likely to state that this form of practice permitted them to have closer, more friendly relations with other group doctors. In all, these doctors were more likely to favor the ideas of "shared facilities," "full-time practice," "inclusiveness," and "broad scope of practice." These concepts may be considered as defining a model of "complete group practice."

On the other hand, the shared perspective of physicians with a high level of participation was characterized by a second theme: the constraint of *prepaid* practice. Again, the perspective of highly participating practitioners departed from that of the doctors with lower participation. Prepaid practice, according to highly participating doctors, limited their earnings, lowered their standing in the eyes of their medical friends, and diminished their referrals from non-group colleagues. Prepaid patients, they said, were more likely to complain too much, call unnecessarily, utilize services unnecessarily, and place a severe limit of their time.

Curiously, the outlook of the doctors with high participation was characterized by themes that emphasized the *virtues* of group practice and the *constraints* of prepayment. Part of their practice was seen as rewarding while the other part was viewed as limiting. The concept of *defensive perspective* would seem to offer a frame of reference for understanding this seemingly contradictory and divided outlook.

Various elements in the organizational environment of the Health Plan constituted audience-groups for members. Participation in the Plan altered professional activities that were evaluated by these audiences. In particular, a high level of participation re-

quired members to pursue numerous distinctive organizational activities that were interpreted as deviant by a powerful, sanctioning organization of professional peers. The legitimacy of group practice, as such, was not viewed as controversial by organized medicine. Only when this arrangement was allied with a prepayment plan was it criticized at the national, state, and county (or borough) levels and labeled as "closed panel" practice. Hence, to the extent of their participation in this deviant form of practice and their dependency on this audience, group doctors were required to address themselves to this interpretation of their activity as members and as professionals. Whether they believe it or not, doctors with a high level of participation encountered a definition of their practice that had to be handled in order that they might pursue the expectations of their offices as members *and* as professionals.

The defense of their professional activity is apparent in the perspective of the highly participating doctors. They emphasized the virtues of *group* practice and the constraints of prepaid practice. In this way, the most controversial features of their practice were interpreted as problematic, as "necessary evils." Less controversial features were emphasized and were viewed favorably. In this way the members' activities were partially reconciled with the views of a highly relevant audience. This "defensive perspective" of the high participation physicians provided them with a justification for their pursuit of visible, deviant professional activity. For members, then, perspective varied with the relevance of an audience and the content of the ideology shared by this audience.

In sum, evidence indicates that the high participation doctors shared a "defensive perspective." This perspective may be characterized as follows in terms of the attributes of an ideology: (1) *focus:* it consisted of interpretations of distinctive aspects of a mode of organization; (2) *consensus:* it was shared by physicians participating to a large extent in these distinctive activities; (3) *content:* it was characterized by interpretations of organizational activity that emphasized the least controversial aspects of this mode and criticized features considered most controversial by a relevant audience; and (4) *function:* it provided a defense for the pursuit of deviant and controversial professional activities associated with the office of member in a prepaid group practice.

The occurrence of this sort of perspective may have implications for the movement of professionals into complex organizations in other areas of professional practice. In many areas of professional action, and especially in the case of the "free professionals," the mode of allocating services historically has been characterized by small scale practice. Standards of professional conduct and the ideology of the professional have developed from this type of organizational background. A strain has been placed on this ideology as an increasing number of professionals have become involved in large scale organizations. Evidence presented above indicates that, in the field of medicine at least, participation in these organizations altered several aspects of professional practice considered critical in terms of the prevailing professional ideology. One suspects that the development of a "defensive perspective," associated with participation, represents an attempt to modify this prevailing ideology in terms of the distinctive demands of large scale practice. Study of other organizations in the field of medicine and in other fields of professional practice would, of course, be required to verify and elaborate the dynamics of such a change in professional ideologies.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS IN RELIGIOUS DIFFERENTIALS IN FERTILITY *

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Precision matching is used to test whether religious differences in fertility behavior result from socio-economic differences between the major religious groups. The 66 Jewish couples from a national sample survey of fertility are matched with Catholic and Protestant couples on duration of marriage and five socio-economic characteristics. These socio-economic controls eliminate most of the Protestant-Jewish differences for the fertility variables. However, the Catholic-Jewish differentials are not reduced. Apparently the distinctive Catholic fertility pattern cannot be explained by the combination of socio-economic characteristics considered. The signifiance of these results is discussed.

JEWS, Protestants, and Catholics in the United States are known to differ in their behavior and values in the area of fertility and fertility planning. Several recent studies [1] have provided systematic descriptions of the nature of these differences. The recent data show that Jews: (1) have the lowest current fertility, (2) expect to have the fewest children, (3) want the smallest families, (4) approve the use of contraception most strongly, (5) are most likely to have used contraception, (6) are most likely to plan the number and spacing of all their children, and (7) are most likely to use the effective appliance methods of contraception. On all of these aspects of the fertility complex, Catholics differ most from the Jews, and Protestants have an intermediate position.

The fertility norms and behavior of the Jews appear to be consistent with their distinctive social and economic characteristics. They have the fertility characteristics we would expect to be associated with their high educational, occupational, and income status, their high concentration in white-collar occupations, their high concentration in metropolitan areas, and the small amount of farm background in their recent history. These social and economic characteristics have been associated generally in both theoretical discussions and in empirical work with low fertility, low fertility values, and high rationality in family planning. These social and economic characteristics of the Jews are those toward which the whole American population is moving as it becomes more completely urbanized, although we cannot expect such a concentration in the higher occupational and income positions to become typical of the whole population. But it has seemed reasonable in the past to speculate that the fertility behavior of the total population might develop in the future toward the present Jewish model, if the decisive factors

* A revised version of a paper presented at the annual meeting of the Population Association of America, May, 1960, Washington, D. C. The analysis was supported by the Program for Research in Population and Human Ecology of the University of Michigan.

[1] The general characterization of religious differentials and the data used in this paper are taken from the Growth of American Families study. The design and major findings from this study are reported in Ronald Freedman, Pascal K. Whelpton, and Arthur A. Campbell, *Family Planning, Sterility, and Population Growth*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1959. The United States Census Bureau report on actual fertility differences between religious groups is consistent with the results of the Growth of American Families study. (See U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1958*, p. 41.) The original differences between religious groups reported here are consistent with those found in the Princeton Fertility study, although the measures used are not always the same. The Princeton study is limited to residents of the ten largest metropolitan areas who had a recent second birth. See Charles F. Westoff, "Religion and Fertility in Metropolitan America," in *Thirty Years of Research in Human Fertility*, New York: Milbank Memorial Fund, 1959, pp. 117–134. A major book-length report on the Princeton study will be published soon by Charles Westoff, Robert Potter, Philip Sagi, and Elliot Mishler.

in the present religious differences are related to differences in social and economic characteristics which will diminish. In earlier writing about higher Catholic fertility and associated behavior, the assumption has frequently been made that these differences would vanish as Catholics became similar to the general population in social and economic status.

Is it true that the fertility complex for Protestants and Catholics is different from that of Jews when they have similar social and economic characteristics, or is there a residual difference associated with religion even when these social and economic characteristics are taken into account? To provide some basis for answering this question a comparison is made below between the Jewish couples in a national sample and groups of Protestant and Catholic couples from the same sample who match the Jews on a set of relevant social and economic characteristics.

The 66 Jewish couples in the comparison include all the couples with both husband and wife Jewish in a national probability sample of white American couples with the wife 18 to 39 years old.[2] From the same national sample, 66 Protestant and 66 Catholic couples were selected to match the Jewish couples as closely as possible on six characteristics: occupation of husband, education of wife, income of husband, duration of marriage, metropolitan character of present residence, and farm background.[3] Cases where husband and wife did not have the same religious affiliation were excluded. The procedure was to find all the Protestant couples in the sample who had the same combination of characteristics as a particular Jewish couple and then to select randomly one of the Protestant couples as a match. The same procedure was followed in matching 66 Catholic couples with the Jewish sample. The cluster of characteristics of the Jews was sufficiently distinctive so that the number of cases of multiple possibilities for matching was not great, despite the relatively large size of the Protestant and Catholic panels. In fact, in many cases it was not possible to match exactly in terms of the combined categories for all characteristics, and it was sometimes necessary to allow one and in a few cases two of the characteristics to be matched from the closest available category. When this was necessary the closest possible match was made. In some cases the match in an adjacent category was actually closer than possible within the category. Each of the Protestant and Catholic couples match the appropriate Jewish couple on occupation of husband, duration of marriage, and farm background. For Protestants, 45 of the 66 cases match exactly on all of the characteristics, 65 on at least five of the six characteristics, and all on at least four of the six. For Catholics, 35 of the 66 cases match exactly on all characteristics, 61 on at least five of the six, and all on at least four of the six. In carrying through the matching, income was the last criterion used and therefore most of the matching failures are with reference to income.

Since Catholics and Jews marry later than Protestants,[4] and since duration of marriage is significantly related to all of the variables of the fertility complex, it was considered important to match all the cases on number of years married. It was not possible with the number of cases available to match also on the wife's age. However, it seems quite unlikely that the fact that the matched Catholics are one year older than the Protestants and Jews could significantly affect the general results obtained. Leaving age uncontrolled while controlling on duration of marriage means that age at marriage has been permitted to vary. Within the controls imposed, there is some justification for permitting age at marriage to vary, since it is an important variable in the fertility complex being examined.

[2] The sample for the larger study consisted of 2713 white, married women 18 to 39 years old, living with their husbands or temporarily separated because of his military service.

[3] The categories used for matching were as follows: *occupation*—upper white collar, lower white collar, upper manual, lower manual, farm owner or worker; *education*—grade school only, one to three years of high school, four years of high school, college; *income of husband*—over $6000, $4000 to $6000, under $4000; *duration of marriage*—under five years, five to nine years, ten years or more; *present residence*—inside or outside of metropolitan area; *farm background*—either husband or wife has ever lived on a farm, neither has.

[4] There is direct evidence on this point from the national sample under study.

TABLE 1. FERTILITY BEHAVIOR OF ALL PROTESTANT, CATHOLIC, AND JEWISH COUPLES IN NATIONAL SAMPLE AND OF PROTESTANT AND CATHOLIC COUPLES WHO MATCH THE JEWISH COUPLES ON DURATION OF MARRIAGE AND SELECTED SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

Fertility and Demographic Characteristics	Total National Sample			Matched Groups		
	Protestants	Catholics	Jews	Protestants	Catholics	Jews
Number of Cases	1684	628	66	66	66	66
Mean expected number of births, when family completed	2.9	3.4	2.4	2.4	3.4	2.4
Mean number of births to date	2.1	2.1	1.7	1.4	2.0	1.7
Mean number of children wanted when interviewed	3.0	3.5	2.6	2.8	3.7	2.6
Mean number of children wanted if could start life over	3.4	3.8	3.2	3.2	4.2	3.2
Mean number of children considered ideal for Americans	3.4	3.6	3.1	3.2	3.2	3.1
Mean duration of marriage in years	10.1	8.8	8.5	8.6	8.6	8.5
Mean age in years of wife	29.8	30.0	30.3	30.0	31.1	30.3
Mean age at marriage of wife	19.7	21.2	21.8	21.4	22.5	21.8
Attitude towards use of family limitation methods						
Percentage expressing:						
Unqualified approval	73%	32%	89%	92%	18%	89%
Qualified approval	13	12	5	4	12	5
Pro-con	3	6	3	—	3	3
Qualified disapproval	9	35	3	2	58	3
Unqualified disapproval	1	13	—	2	9	—
Not ascertained	1	2	—	—	—	—
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Percentage who have already used contraception (including rhythm)	75	57	86	83	59	86
Percentage who planned number and spacing of all pregnancies	22	9	47	33	14	47
Methods of contraception						
Percentage of all couples (including nonusers) who have:						
Ever used an appliance or chemical method	67%	26%	83%	78%	15%	83%
Ever used a method unacceptable under Catholic church doctrine	69	29	84	80	15	84
Only used rhythm	5	29	1	3	44	1

Comparisons between the matched groups can be summarized as indicating that the fertility complex for Protestants is very much like that for Jews when they have similar social and economic characteristics, but that this is not true for Catholics. On almost all of the comparisons, the difference between Jews and Catholics is as great or greater when the social and economic characteristics are controlled as when they are not. Apparently, the distinctiveness of Catholic fertility behavior as compared with that of Jews and Protestants cannot be explained by differences in the background characteristics considered here—at least not at the level set by taking the combination of characteristics of the Jews as a model. This broad summary of the results can be checked by comparing the results for the three religious groups in the original total sample and among the matched couples in Table 1.[5]

Several measures of fertility can be considered. The completed family size expected by wives in the total sample is significantly lower for Jews than for Catholics, and Protestants are in an intermediate position. In contrast among the matched couples, the Protestants expect the same low figure as

[5] See footnote 14.

the Jews, but the Catholic figure remains unchanged at the high level. In the total sample, actual mean number of births to date is lowest for the Jews and higher at the same level for Catholics and Protestants. (Fertility to date is the same for Catholics and Protestants in spite of the fact that the Catholics married later. They had the same number of children as the Protestants in a shorter period of time. There is reason to believe that Catholics will have more children than the Protestants by the end of the child-bearing period.[6]) In the matched groups, Protestant fertility to date is even lower than that for Jews, but Catholic fertility is high—considerably above that for either Protestants or Jews.

Each wife was asked several questions to ascertain how many children she wanted at the time of the interview in 1955. After matching, the mean value for Protestants is closer to the low Jewish figure, but the mean value for matched Catholics is even higher than that for all Catholics. Wives were also asked: "How many children would you choose to have if you could start your married life all over again and have just the number of children you would want by the time you are 45"? This was intended to give some indication of the respondents' personal ideals for family size in situations not too closely limited by their actual family history. Again here, the mean value for Protestants is identical with the lower figure for Jews after matching, while the Catholic mean value is even higher than it was before.

The measure for Catholics is close to that for Protestants and Jews for only one of the fertility values: the attitude on what is considered the ideal size of family for Americans in general. In this case, the mean values are very similar for the three matched groups, although they vary in the expected manner in the total sample.

Attitudes toward the use of family limitation by the general population are rather similar as between all Protestant and Jewish wives but Jews indicate the strongest approval. Catholics are much more likely to express disapproval or to qualify their approval. After matching, the attitude distribution of Protestants is even more similar to that for the Jews, but the Catholics are even more different, a larger proportion expressing disapproval.

With respect to the proportion who have used contraception to date,[7] matching brings the Protestant figure much closer to the high Jewish figure but increases the Catholic figure very little.

In the total sample, the Jewish couples are much more likely than couples of either of the two other groups to have planned the spacing and number of all their children by means of contraception.[8] After matching, the proportion of such planned families rises sharply among the Protestants toward the Jewish figure but the Catholic proportion rises only slightly.

The types of contraception used also are more similar for the Jews and matched Protestants after controls, while the practices of matched Catholics are even more distinctive. Thus the matched Protestant and Jewish groups are much more similar in the proportions who have ever used an appliance or chemical method of contraception. These methods, forbidden to observant Catholics under church doctrine,[9] are even less frequently used in the matched Catholic group than in the original sample. The proportion of Catholics using any method forbidden under church doctrine is less than half as large in the matched group as in the total sample. This is certainly not consistent with the view that Catholic adherence to church

[6] For a fuller discussion of this point, see Freedman, Whelpton, and Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 275.

[7] Many of the couples who have not yet used contraception will do so in the future if we judge either on the basis of their own reported intentions or on the basis of the experience of the older women in the sample. A significant number of the couples in all three religious groups have not used contraception because fecundity impairments made such control unnecessary. The term, contraception, is used here interchangeably with the term, "family limitation," to refer to any method of avoiding conception, including mechanical or chemical methods, coitus interruptus, or "rhythm." It does not include abortion.

[8] Here we are referring to couples who only conceived when they discontinued the use of contraception in order to have a child.

[9] Roman Catholic doctrine forbids the use of mechanical or chemical contraceptives or coitus interruptus. The "rhythm" method is permitted under certain conditions. For a fuller statement of the Catholic position, see Freedman, Whelpton, and Campbell, *op. cit.*, Appendix A, pp. 415–419.

doctrine on these issues results from their distinctive distribution in respect to the social and economic characteristics considered in this analysis.

The general results of this analysis appear to be consistent with the hypothesis that Protestant-Jewish differences in the variables of the fertility complex are a function of differences in a few strategic social and economic background variables. When these background differences are controlled, the differences in the fertility complex are greatly diminished, disappear, or are even reversed.

However, the unique values of the fertility complex of Catholics cannot be explained in this simple way. Not only do their characteristics persist, but the differences are more likely to be increased than decreased when the effect of the specific social and economic characteristics in this analysis is controlled.

We have not controlled for the degree of involvement in the religious community in the matched comparisons shown in Table 1. In this analysis the respondents are classified as Catholics, Protestants, or Jews simply on the basis of their self-identification with one of these major religious divisions in response to a rather simple question about religious preference. Strictly speaking, then, we have not examined the effect of the religious communities on their close adherents, because many more Catholics than Protestants or Jews are closely attached to the formal rites and institutions of their religion. We have been examining the effect of the religious groupings as they now operate in the United States on their broad constituencies—whether weakly or strongly identified. This seems to us to be a more significant approach than one which would center on a comparison of the large group of Catholics closely identified with their church and the much smaller groups of Jews and Protestants who are closely attached by comparable criteria.

Nevertheless, it is quite unlikely that the differences between Catholics, on the one hand, and Protestants and Jews, on the other, would disappear even if they were matched on such a criterion as frequency of church attendance. Neither the Princeton Study nor the Growth of American Families Study (GAF) found any significant variation in fertility behavior in relation to church attendance or indices of religious interest for non-Catholics. Among Protestants, major denominational differences are not related to major differentials in family planning practices. Catholic fertility and family planning do vary in relation to church attendance in the GAF study, but even the Catholics who report attending church "seldom or never" are markedly different (in "Catholic" directions) from non-Catholics for the major fertility variables considered in the GAF study.

The matching procedure used in our analysis does select Catholics more committed to the church; 86 per cent of the Catholic wives in the matched group reported regular attendance at church compared with 68 per cent in the original sample of Catholics. However, if we consider only the nine matched pairs for which the Catholics report less than regular church attendance, there are still very marked differences between Catholics and Jews: (1) the average expected number of children is 3.0 for Catholics and 1.9 for Jews, (2) live births to date average 2.3 for Catholics and 1.2 for Jews, and (3) 67 per cent of the Catholics and 88 per cent of the Jews approve the practice of family limitation without qualification.

Philip Sagi has pointed out,[10] on the basis of the findings of the Princeton Study that matching Catholics with the relatively well-educated Jewish group selects those Catholics who are most likely to be conforming to Catholic values about fertility, because: (1) Catholics who are well-educated are most likely to have most of their education in Catholic schools, and (2) Catholics who have extensive religious education are most likely to adhere to Catholic religious values about fertility.

Thus, Catholic religious education may be the factor which immediately explains the persistence of distinctive Catholic fertility patterns even under the impact of greater urbanization and higher status. While this explanation clarifies the problem, it does not eliminate it. We must still explain the strength of Catholic religious education. In the theory predicting elimination of Catholic-Protestant differentials, urbanization and increasing status for Catholics were expected

[10] This interpretation was suggested by Philip Sagi in discussing this paper at the annual meetings of the Population Association of America in May, 1960, in Washington, D.C.

to reduce their loyalty to distinctive Catholic values and institutions in general—not simply in the area of fertility. It may be that an explanation of the distinctiveness of Catholics with respect to fertility can be found only in a more general explanation of the continuing strength of American Catholic institutions and ideology.

The Catholic sub-culture involves an explicit and distinctive ideology about the fertility complex. In general, Jewish and Protestant groups have no special religious ideology on these issues. It may be that with more precise measurements of the variables for a larger sample,[11] or with the addition of other variables the distinctive Catholic position could be "explained away." The results obtained conceivably may depend on the particular weighting of the controls used for matching—those characterizing the Jewish group. This particular model was selected because it is the direction in which the general population appears to be moving with respect to urbanization and socio-economic status. Matching on the model of the Protestant or Catholic combination of background characteristics might produce different results. This will be explored in later work. But assuming that further work supports the results presented here, we are left with the question of why the specific Catholic ideology has arisen and has been maintained. Presumably it has an origin and a function which are not to be explained in any simple way by the variables treated here.

These results for the fertility complex are consistent with those for Catholic-Protestant differences in behavior and ideology obtained by Gerhard Lenski in a study in the Detroit area.[12] For a rather wide range of behavioral and attitudinal variables the Catholic-Protestant differences persist even when groups of similar social and economic status are compared.

Lenski finds that members of each major religious group tend to associate in primary groups mainly with people of their own faith. The existence of these partly closed religious communities within the larger community perpetuates and reinforces whatever unique values and ideologies the religion carries with it. In the case of the Catholics this no doubt includes distinctive values about family planning and fertility.

The Growth of American Families study calls attention to one subgroup in which Catholic-Protestant fertility and family planning differences are very small—the families in which the wife had worked a long time (at least five years) since marriage. In this subgroup, Protestants and Catholics tend to converge with respect to expected family size, attitude toward the use of family limitation methods, and the type of methods used.[13] If we interpret long work experience as facilitating the involvement of Catholic wives in groups outside the closed Catholic subcommunity, this result is consistent with the hypothesis that distinctive Catholic fertility behavior tends to disappear when the barriers between the religious subcommunities are reduced. However, this relationship may also be a matter of selection, at least in part, i.e., Catholic wives who previously have acquired non-Catholic fertility values will be most likely to work. The selection hypothesis is supported by the findings of the Princeton Fertility Study that Catholic wives who have had little or none of their education in religious schools are most likely to work after marriage and resemble Protestants in their fertility behavior. Since only a small proportion of either Catholic or Protestant wives aged 18 to 39 years had worked five or more years since marriage, adding the wife's work history to the list of controls in the matching process would not have changed significantly

[11] The consistent results obtained in this study make this seem unlikely. As a check on the possible effect of matching more exactly on all the variables simultaneously, we considered only the 35 Catholics who matched the Jewish group on all the characteristics. The differences between Catholics and Jews were substantially the same for these 35 cases as for the larger group of 66 cases less completely matched. It is conceivable that the concentration of the Jewish population in New York City may influence the results.

[12] The results of Lenski's research, part of the continuing program of the Detroit Area Study of the University of Michigan, appear in Gerhard Lenski, *The Religious Factor: A Sociological Study of Religion's Impact on Politics, Economics, and Family Life*, Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1961.

[13] Similar results were obtained in a study in West Germany. See R. Freedman, G. Baumert, and M. Bolte, "Expected Family Size and Family Size Values in West Germany," *Population Studies*, 13 (November, 1959), pp. 136–150.

the comparisons between the matched groups that are presented above.

We found earlier that controlling simultaneously on five socio-economic characteristics virtually eliminated the Protestant-Jewish differences on the fertility measures. To assess the extent to which each of the characteristics contributes to this result will require a different kind of analysis which we plan to carry out and report in a later paper. However, we can report some exploratory work in which matching procedures were used to test the hypothesis that one or a few of the characteristics could produce the observed results. This did not prove to be the case. When each of the socio-economic characteristics was controlled alone by matching, the Protestant values moved toward the Jewish values in a rather similar way, with income taken alone having the least effect and education and occupation taken alone having the most. However, when we matched simultaneously on all the characteristics except income we found that the Protestant values were not moved as closely to the Jewish as in our complete matching procedure. Apparently, income does have an effect not covered completely by the other variables. All of the characteristics appear to have some effect on the final result of close similarity but the independent effect of each cannot be assessed adequately by matching.

The emphasis in this analysis on the differences between Catholics and non-Catholics should not lead to an exaggeration of religious differentials in fertility and family planning. From some points of view the similarities are more striking than the differences. For example, none of the major religious groupings can be characterized as having very large or very small families. Like the other major strata of our population, they place a high value on moderate size families (two to four children). A large majority of Catholics as well as of Protestants and Jews use some form of conception control sometime during the child-bearing period, and many Catholics are using methods of contraception forbidden under Catholic church doctrine. Nevertheless, significant differences remain, and statements that Catholics are fully adopting the Protestant family planning practices are not correct. Moreover, the present analysis seems to indicate that the persistent differences are unlikely to disappear simply as a result of movement to higher socio-economic status among the Catholic population.[14]

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[14] A final note on tests of significance may be in order. In both the total original national sample and the matched panels the differences between Protestants and Catholics, on the one hand, and Jews, on the other, were tested to determine whether they were statistically significant. In the initial sample the mean values for both Catholics and Protestants were significantly higher than for the Jews on all the fertility measures listed and the distribution of Jews was significantly different from that of Catholics and Protestants on the measures involving percentage distributions.

In testing the differences between the matched groups in Table 1 for sampling variability, the correlation between matched pairs was taken into account. In this instance the clustering in the original national sample was ignored since the selection procedure for matching eliminated the clustering effect. All the differences between Catholics and Jews remain significant at the .05 level, except for two cases. (The difference in number of births to date is significant at the .10 level and the difference for ideal family size is negligible.) *None* of the differences between Jews and Protestants is significant after matching, except the difference in the proportion who planned the number and spacing of all their pregnancies. In the matched groups all the differences between Protestants and Catholics are significant at the .05 level, except the two already noted for Jews.

ERRATA AND CLARIFICATIONS

The Editor invites readers to direct his attention to errors and ambiguities that have appeared in recent issues of the *Review*. Errata and clarifications will be reported from time to time as a convenience to our readers and contributors.

VOLUME 25 (DECEMBER, 1960), p. 997.

In book note by Joel B. Montague, *15 to 18: A Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education*, fifth line from bottom, substitute "16" for "15."

VOLUME 26 (FEBRUARY, 1961), p. 10.

The following statement appeared in the article by August B. Hollingshead on "Some Issues in the Epidemiology of Schizophrenia": "The problem of diagnosis is more complicated when a researcher is attempting to assess the mental status of a non-patient group. Leighton has furnished us some data on what happens when this is done. In the Mid-Town Study, New York City, six psychiatrists were asked to read the field protocols on fifty white, adult males. The psychiatrists were instructed to assess whether each man was mentally 'well' or mentally 'ill'; fifteen were placed in an equivocal category, and five individuals were diagnosed as 'well.' However, the five men who were diagnosed as 'well' differed for each of the six psychiatrists. One psychiatrist's five 'wells' were in another psychiatrist's 'sickest' group." Hollingshead based this statement on remarks attributed to Leighton in the *unedited* mimeographed volume of transcript of comments and discussions of the Work Conference on Problems in Field Studies in The Mental Disorders. On pp. 147–148 of this volume the following appears: "DR. LEIGHTON: This is another footnote on the subject of reliability, though it is not, strictly speaking, a problem of reliability of diagnosis.

"In drawing a probability sample of a population and getting information on these individuals, both through interviewing them and interviewing other people who knew them, one acquires a protocol of data on each person which then has to be, for an epidemiological study, evaluated by psychiatric criteria, and in setting about doing this for a population we had a preliminary pilot run in which 50 of these protocols were taken, and an attempt at a diagnosis made by six different psychiatrists with widely different training, including one with psychoanalytic training, and the results were almost uniform agreement that 30 of the 50 were definitely ill with psychoneurotic disorders, about 15 were equivocal, and five were well. However, the five well were different for each of the six psychiatrists. One man's five wells were in another man's sickest group."

In response to an inquiry from the Editor, Leighton commented on this passage as follows: "In my statement at the Work Conference on which Professor Hollingshead bases his remarks, I was referring to the Stirling County Study, not Midtown. Yet Midtown is involved because two of the psychiatrists were from that project and a third had some association with it. The operation in question, was, however, carried out as part of the Stirling County project and utilized its methods and its data.

"In the interest of accuracy I should like to point out that my statement which you quote from the work conference was an unprepared contribution to a discussion and I have not, so far as I can recollect, ever had the opportunity to revise or correct the recording. While the main point of what was said can stand, if I did report six psychiatrists, I was wrong and should have said five. The figures for results given, furthermore, are only approximations. The protocols pertained to males and females over 18.

"While I agree with the essential point Professor Hollingshead is making in drawing attention to a serious problem, what I was trying to say at the discussion is that a major part of the difficulty arose because the psychiatrists were attempting diagnoses, with all this implies of etiological assumption. When, however, diagnosis as such was abandoned and attention was focused on designating symptom patterns of psychiatric interest, a reasonably high degree of reliability among psychiatrists was obtained. In other words, we could agree pretty well as to who had symptoms and even as to the symptom types, despite the fact that we might differ as to the probable underlying dynamic complexes. It was the agreement, not the disagreement I wished to emphasize and I think it was not at all bad when compared to other medical operations of a similar type—for instance, consistency in X-ray readings."

VOLUME 26 (APRIL, 1961), p. 276.

In the exchange of communications between Lorna Holbrook Mui and Ephraim Harold Mizruchi reference is made to the Anomia scale developed by Leo Srole. (*American Sociological Review*, 21 [December, 1956], pp. 709–716). Srole warns against the uncritical use of the Anomia scale and directs attention to the following: "First, I must contradict two of Lorna Mui's assumptions, namely (1) that the Springfield sample used in my study excluded the upper reaches of the socio-economic range, and (2) that the Anomia scale items by design were constructed to suit only the truncated social class universe she assumes we had sampled.

"On the other hand, I am grateful to her for suggesting the possibility of a social class artifact in the responses to certain of the A-scale items. Although Mizruchi dismisses the possibility, clearly evidence is lacking either to accept or reject her suggestion out of hand.

"In my own article, the Anomia scale was presented with due emphasis on its seeming limitations and deficiencies as revealed to 20/20 hindsight. It has therefore been disconcerting that others who have subsequently published reports on their research application of the scale have done so rather uncritically, often even neglecting to mention the reservations I had appended to it by way of *caveat emptor* precaution.

"I might mention, however, that in a recent large scale sample survey investigation opportunity has been provided me to refine and extend the original A scale. It will probably become obsolete. With a new scale and new data we will be in a position to measure 'subjective anomie' not only against an extended version of Merton's trail-blazing typology of individual adaptations but against a series of personality variables and a variety of indices of 'objective anomie.'"

NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS

to the *American Sociological Review*

I. *Preparation of Articles, Research Reports, and Book Reviews sent to Editor*

Papers are evaluated by the editors and other referees and are judged without author's name or institutional identification. Therefore, contributors are asked to attach a cover page giving the title, author's name, and institutional affiliation; the manuscript should bear only the title as a means of identification. At least two, and preferably three, copies should be submitted to enable prompt evaluation, but the author should retain a copy in his own files.

Manuscripts are accepted subject to usual editing.

An abstract of about 100–125 words should accompany articles (but not research reports); it should present the principal substantive and methodological points.

Please prepare copy as follows:

1. *All* copy, including indented matter, should be typed *double spaced* on white standard paper. Lines should not exceed 5–6 inches.

2. A footnote to the title, author's name, or his affiliation should be starred (*). Other footnotes should be numbered serially, typed *double spaced*, and should be listed at the *end* of the article or research report. Sample footnote formats are presented below. Please note that full names are used, not initials.

3. Each table should be typed on a separate page. Insert a guide line, e.g., "Table 1 about here," at the appropriate place in the manuscript. See current issues of the *Review* for tabular style.

4. Figures should be drawn on white paper with India ink and the original tracings or drawings should be retained by the author for direct transmission to the printer. Copies should accompany the manuscript.

5. Mathematical notation should be provided both in symbols and words. Explanatory notes not intended for printing should be encircled in pencil.

6. If any symbols are used that might confuse the printer, please clarify in the margin of the manuscript.

Sample Footnote Formats

* Revision of a paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, August, 1959.

1. Gordon W. Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice*, Cambridge: Addison-Wesley, 1954, p. 298.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 299–300.

3. Seymour M. Lipset, "Democracy and Working-Class Authoritarianism," *American Sociological Review*, 24 (August, 1959), pp. 482–501.

4. Bruno Bettelheim and Morris Janowitz, *Dynamics of Prejudice*, New York: Harper, 1950.

5. Robert K. Merton, "Discrimination and the American Creed," in Robert M. MacIver, editor, *Discrimination and National Welfare*, New York: Harper, 1949, pp. 99–126.

6. Herbert Menzel, James C. Coleman, and Elihu Katz, "Dimensions of Being 'Modern' in Medical Practice," *Journal of Chronic Diseases*, 9 (January, 1959), pp. 20–40.

7. Committee on Nomenclature and Statistics of the American Psychiatric Association, *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual: Mental Disorders*, Washington, D.C.: American Psychiatric Association, 1952, pp. 12–13.

II. *Preparation of News and Announcements sent to Executive Office*

These columns may include notices of academic appointments, promotions, resignations, visiting professorships, leaves of absence, special awards, appointments to governmental and private organizations, new training programs, and *major* curricular developments, special research projects and grants, special conferences and institutes, retirements, and deaths. *Do not include:* publications by department members (these will appear in "Publications Received" and many will be reviewed), appointments to graduate assistantships, the conferral of graduate degrees (which are reported annually in the *American Journal of Sociology*) or of graduate work in progress, public lectures, televised courses, papers, delivered at conferences, and brochures. Notices should be *concise*. See current issues of the *Review* for editing style. It is suggested that each department assign one person the responsibility of assembling and transmitting news and announcements.

Notices of professional interest from governmental and other non-academic agencies are welcome.

Foreign sociologists planning to visit the United States who are interested in meeting American sociologists are invited to send their itineraries and other pertinent details to the Executive Office. These will be published under the heading, "Sociologists from Abroad." Please see *Time Schedule*.

The *Review* reserves the right to edit or exclude all items.

Time Schedule: To insure publication, announcements must be received no later than the beginning of the third month preceding the month of issue; for example, to be included in the October issue, material must be received by July 1.

THE PROFESSION: REPORTS AND OPINION

IN MEMORIAM

J. EUGENE GALLERY

(1898–1960)

J. Eugene Gallery, S.J., sociologist and former president of the University of Scranton, died July 28, 1960, in Georgetown University Hospital, Washington, D.C., at the age of sixty-one. A native of Baltimore, he interrupted his education at Georgetown University (where he later received his bachelor's and master's degrees) to serve as a cavalry officer during the first World War. In 1932, after twelve years as a successful young executive in financial institutions in Washington, he entered the Society of Jesus. From 1932 to 1940 he studied philosophy and theology at Woodstock College and pursued his doctoral studies in sociology at Fordham University. He was ordained as a priest in 1939. Appointed to the faculty of the University of Scranton, he later became professor of sociology there and served as president from 1947 to 1953. He was professor of sociology at Loyola College, Baltimore, from 1953 until his appointment as financial vice-president of Saint Joseph's College, Philadelphia, in June, 1958.

As scholar, teacher, and administrator, Father Gallery endeavored to promote the utilization of sociological knowledge in the solution of practical social problems, and, to that end, maintained a fruitful collaboration with professional social workers as well as an interest in social service education. He was the founder and first director of the University of Scranton's Institute of Industrial Relations, which he organized to improve the climate of labor-management relations in the anthracite coal fields. He also served as a member of the Panel of Arbitrators of the American Arbitration Association. From 1949 to 1953 he was vice-chairman of the Pennsylvania Governor's Committee on Children and Youth. In 1956 he represented the United States at the International Conference of Social Workers in Munich. He was the author, both individually and in collaboration, of numerous studies and reports on social service topics, including two monographs: "Child-Caring Institutions in New York," (1936); and "Liberal Arts Colleges and Preparation for Public Welfare Service," (1948).

FRANK GERRITY
Saint Joseph's College (Philadelphia)

SAMUEL D. GERSHOWITZ

(1907–1960)

Samuel D. Gershowitz, Executive Vice President of the National Jewish Welfare Board, died at the age of 53 on September 5, 1960, after a brief illness.

A native of New York City, Mr. Gershowitz was educated at the University of Minnesota and the Minneapolis Talmud Torah. On his graduation in 1929 he entered the Jewish Community Center camping field in which he continued his interest.

After serving as Executive Director of Jewish Community Centers in Chicago, Lawrence, Massachusetts, Brooklyn, New York and Toronto, Canada, he was appointed the professional director of the Jewish Welfare Board. When the United Service Organization was formed, with the Jewish Welfare Board as one of the initiators, Mr. Gershowitz assumed responsibility for establishing USO morale and welfare programs in various Midwest communities. In 1951, he helped organize the first Jewish Community Council; in 1952 he traveled in Europe on similar missions and later that year he reported on the morale needs of the G.I. in the Carribean.

In 1955 he went to the Far East to deal with morale and welfare problems. In 1959, he visited Turkey, Guam, Italy, Switzerland,

and other countries to examine the current status of the moral and welfare of American military personnel. As a member of the Youth Committee of President Eisenhower's People-to-People Committee, he was sent to Athens.

He was a member of the Jewish Committee on the Boy Scouts of America, the American Jewish Historical Society, the Jewish Book Council of America and the National Jewish Music Council and other Jewish organizations.

He also served as a member of the Board of Overseers of the Florence Heller Graduate School for Advanced Studies in Social Welfare, Brandeis University. He was a consultant to the 1961 White House Conference on Aging and a charter member of the National Association of Social Workers, as well as a board member of the National Social Welfare Assembly which he served as chairman of the Assembly's Conference of Executives.

In 1954, Mr. Gershowitz was awarded the Sam Beber Distinguished Alumni Award of the B'nai B'rith Youth Organization for his notable contribution to American Jewish life.

SOPHIA M. ROBISON
Howard University

OFFICIAL REPORTS AND PROCEEDINGS

Report of the Committee on Nominations and Elections, 1961

In accordance with the Association's By-Laws and with due regard for the fields of specialization and the geographical distribution of the members, President Robert E. L. Faris appointed the following Committee on Nominations and Elections: Robert K. Merton, *Chairman*, Alan P. Bates, Peter M. Blau, Donald R. Cressey, Richard Dewey, Walter Firey, Noel P. Gist, William J. Goode, Lewis M. Killian, Morton B. King, Jr., Walter T. Martin, John H. Mueller, Harold W. Pfautz, Aileen D. Ross, Walter B. Watson.

The Committee completed the following slate of nominees on the sixth mail ballot on February 10, 1961:

President-Elect
- Everett C. Hughes
- Wilbert E. Moore

Vice-President-Elect
- Leonard Broom
- Amos H. Hawley

Committee on Publications
- Charles H. Page
- Gideon Sjoberg

Council
- Bernard Berelson
- Theodore Caplow
- Philip M. Hauser
- Rudolph Heberle
- Alex Inkeles
- Otto N. Larsen
- Peter H. Rossi
- Calvin F. Schmid

Ballots were mailed from the Executive Office on March 28, 1961 to the 2,809 Fellows and Active members of the Association. Sixteen hundred and eighty-six ballots were returned by April 13 or, in the cases of members living abroad, by April 25. This constituted 60 per cent of the voting membership which can be compared with the 52 per cent to 65 per cent voting in the six previous years.

The instructions developed over the years for validating the ballots were carefully followed, and all identification was removed from the ballots before the tally was made. The counting was done by I.B.M. procedures in line with the suggestion made by the 1958 Committee. All ballots were punched twice and verified before tabulations were made.

In an attempt to offset any biasing effect of the order position of the names on the ballot, two forms of the ballot were used. One form listed the candidates for each office in alphabetical order, the other reversed the order. These forms were sent alternatively to the names on the mailing list. The numbers of returns were almost equal for the two forms. Analysis of the returns finds a tendency for names appearing first on the ballot to receive a slightly higher proportion of votes.

Write-in votes aggregated 101 additional names; no person received more than three

write-in votes, and fewer than 2 per cent of those voting wrote in names for any office.

The following nominees were elected:

President-Elect
Everett C. Hughes

Vice-President-Elect
Leonard Broom

Committee on Publications
Charles H. Page

Council
Theodore Caplow
Philip M. Hauser
Rudolph Heberle
Alex Inkeles

Respectfully submitted,
ROBERT K. MERTON
Chairman

Auditor's Report at November 30, 1960

March 10, 1961

Council
The American Sociological Association
Washington Square
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

In accordance with instructions, we have examined the financial records of The American Sociological Association for the fiscal year ended November 30, 1960. We submit herewith the following Exhibits:

Statement of Cash Receipts and Disbursements for the Fiscal Year Ended November 30, 1960	Exhibit A
Statement of Securities Transactions for the Fiscal Year Ended November 30, 1960	Exhibit B

The accounting system of the Association is limited to a cash receipts and disbursements basis, only cash journals being used to record financial transactions.

The Cash Balances as of November 30, 1960, were confirmed directly to us by the depositories. We made a physical count on February 16, 1961, of the stocks and bonds listed in Exhibit B. Verifications in connection with other assets and any liabilities of the Association as of November 30, 1960, have been omitted. The only cash receipts confirmed by reference to outside sources were dividends on stocks and bank interest income. We made tests to ascertain that membership dues, *Review* subscriptions and sales, *Review* advertising, and other types of receipts were properly entered in the cash receipts journal, and that all such receipts were properly deposited in the banks. In addition, we made an examination of the paid invoices and payroll and compared them with entries in the cash disbursements journal.

The book values shown for the securities on hand at November 30, 1960, which were purchased subsequent to November 30, 1948, are stated at cost, whereas the values shown for securities acquired prior to that date are stated at values obtained from previous Auditors' reports; adjustments being made thereto to reflect capital changes. The November 30, 1960 market values represent the published redemption values for the bonds and the last closing Stock Exchange price prior to December 1, 1960, for the stock.

In our opinion, subject to the foregoing comments, the accompanying Statement of Cash Receipts and Disbursements (Exhibit A) and Statement of Security Transactions (Exhibit B) present fairly the cash transactions of The American Sociological Association for the fiscal year ended November 30, 1960.

We wish to express our appreciation of the courtesies extended to us by the Officers and assistants during the course of our examination.

Respectfully submitted,
KING AND COMPANY

THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION
EXHIBIT A

STATEMENT OF CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS — FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDED NOVEMBER 30, 1960

	Cash Receipts	Cash Disbursements	Excess (Deficiency) of Receipts Over Disbursements
Membership Dues:			
Fellow	$ 30,549.00		
Active	18,205.15		
Associate	22,721.95		
Student	12,945.38		
Joint	413.00		
Asian (Under Grant)	55.41		
	$ 84,889.89(A)	$ 535.75	$84,354.14
American Sociological Review:			
Subscriptions	$ 18,530.22	$ 122.36	
Asia Foundation Funds Allocated	950.00(D)		
Sale of Back Issues	3,093.98	129.02	
Reprint Permissions	186.00		
Advertising Income	7,175.15		
Printing and Mailing Costs	16.00	42,538.63	
Clerical Salaries—			
Editorial Assistant		5,629.84	
Office		3,000.00(B)	
Editor's Expense		1,571.42	
Miscellaneous Expense		1,850.00(C)	
	$ 29,951.35	$ 54,841.27	(24,889.92)
Sociometry:			
Subscriptions	$ 10,571.50	$ 46.90	
Asia Foundation Funds Allocated	683.33(D)		
Sale of Back Issues	878.97	28.82	
Reprint Permissions	86.00		
Printing and Mailing Costs	12.00	7,046.09	
Clerical Salaries—Editor		530.01	
Office		2,000.00(B)	
Editor's Expense		205.31	
Miscellaneous Expense		1,000.00(C)	
	$ 12,231.80	$ 10,857.13	1,374.67
Carried Forward	$127,073.04	$ 66,234.15	$60,838.89

THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION
EXHIBIT A—*Continued*

STATEMENT OF CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS (*Continued*) — FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDED NOVEMBER 30, 1960

	Cash Receipts	Cash Disbursements	Excess (Deficiency) of Receipts Over Disbursements
Brought Forward	$127,073.04	$ 66,234.15	$60,838.89
Employment Bulletin:			
Payments for Listings	$ 235.03	$ 3.00	
Clerical Salaries		2,000.00(B)	
Printing and Mailing		2,104.90	
Miscellaneous Expense		400.00(C)	
	$ 235.03	$ 4,507.90	(4,272.87)
Index:			
Sales	$ 161.00		
Clerical Salaries		$ 600.00(B)	
Miscellaneous Expense		100.00(C)	
	$ 161.00	$ 700.00	(539.00)
1959 Directory:			
Sales	$ 1,429.91		
Clerical Salaries		$ 1,100.00(B)	
Miscellaneous Expense		1,100.00(C)	
	$ 1,429.91	$ 2,200.00	(770.09)
Research Listing:			
Report Sales	$ 707.20		
Clerical Salaries		$ 1,000.00(B)	
Report Expenses		500.00(C)	
	$ 707.20	$ 1,500.00	(792.80)
Program Abstracts:			
Sales	$ 278.00		278.00
Carried Forward	$129,884.18	$ 75,142.05	$54,742.13

THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION
EXHIBIT A—*Continued*

STATEMENT OF CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS (*Continued*) — FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDED NOVEMBER 30, 1960

	Cash Receipts	Cash Disbursements	Excess (Deficiency) of Receipts Over Disbursements
Brought Forward	$129,884.18	$ 75,142.05	$54,742.13
Russell Sage Bulletins:			
Sales	$ 269.05		
Grant Received	3,000.00		
Payments to Publisher		$ 225.71	
Honoraria to Authors		750.00	
Clerical Salaries		100.00(B)	
Miscellaneous		100.00(C)	
	$ 3,269.05	$ 1,175.71	2,093.34
Directory Analysis:			
Printing and Mailing		$ 58.02	(58.02)
Sociology Today:			
Sales	$ 612.80		
Payments to Publisher		$ 603.45	
Royalties	1,765.94		
Prior Year's Royalties Transferred to Savings	5,254.55	5,254.55	
Interest on Savings Account	192.21		
	$ 7,825.50	$ 5,858.00	1,967.50
Annual Meeting:			
Official Meals and Receptions		$ 659.67	
Abstracts—Clerical Salaries		500.00(B)	
—Printing and Mailing		1,973.01	
Registration Fees	$ 5,514.00		
Program—Printing and Mailing		4,782.42	
—Advertising	3,308.24		
Book Exhibits—Income	2,104.03		
—Expense		210.50	
Travel and Room Expense, Officers and Staff		388.28	
Clerical Assistants		480.02	
Miscellaneous Expense	445.26	1,853.24	
	$ 11,371.53	$ 10,847.14	524.39
Carried Forward	$152,350.26	$ 93,080.92	$59,269.34

THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION
EXHIBIT A—*Continued*

STATEMENT OF CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS (*Continued*) — FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDED NOVEMBER 30, 1960

	Cash Receipts	Cash Disbursements	Excess (Deficiency) of Receipts Over Disbursements
Brought Forward	$152,350.26	$ 93,080.92	$59,269.34
Office:			
Executive Officer's Salary (Part Time—Dec. 1, 1959, to Sept. 15, 1960)		$ 3,958.27	
Administrative Officer's Salary (Full Time—June 1 to Nov. 30, 1960)		3,500.04	
Clerical Salaries:			
Member Mailings and Dues Collection		7,071.00(B)	
Correspondence		6,107.00(B)	
Filing, Bookkeeping, and Miscellaneous		5,485.54(B)	
Printing, Mailing, and Other Expenses—Member Notices, Files, etc.		4,051.48(C)	
Office Maintenance Expense		436.24	
Purchase of Office Equipment:			
Adding Machine		72.00	
Cabinets, Files, Shelves, etc.		82.62	
Rent		800.00	
		$ 31,564.19	(31,564.19)
Sections and Affiliates:			
Travel of Officers and Staff to Regional Meetings	$ 29.26	$ 401.58	
Social Psychology:			
Fees	539.00		
Mailing Expense		303.28(C)	
Clerical Salaries		800.00(B)	
Medical Sociology:			
Fees	572.00		
Mailing Expense		225.00(C)	
Clerical Salaries		500.00(B)	
Methodology:			
Fees	255.00		
Mailing Expense		150.00(C)	
Clerical Salaries		300.00(B)	
Sections in Formation:			
Fees	40.00	40.00	
Clerical Salaries		600.00(B)	
Miscellaneous Expense		600.00(C)	
Sociology of Education:			
Fees	121.00		
Criminology:			
Fees	59.00		
	$ 1,615.26	$ 3,919.86	(2,304.60)
Carried Forward	$153,965.52	$128,564.97	$25,400.55

THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION
EXHIBIT A—*Continued*

STATEMENT OF CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS (*Continued*) — FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDED NOVEMBER 30, 1960

	Cash Receipts	Cash Disbursements	Excess (Deficiency) of Receipts Over Disbursements
Brought Forward	$153,965.52	$128,564.97	$25,400.55
Committees:			
Executive Committee and Council:			
Travel		$ 574.33	
Clerical Salaries		1,200.00(B)	
Miscellaneous Expense		432.33	
Nominations and Elections:			
Chairman's Expense		13.50	
Election Mailing		497.42	
Statistical and Clerical Salaries		300.00(B)	
Profession:			
Travel		210.89	
Clerical Salaries		500.00(B)	
Miscellaneous Expense		300.00(C)	
Program:			
Travel		488.71	
Clerical Salaries		2,000.00(B)	
Miscellaneous Expense		300.00(C)	
Asia Foundation Committee:			
Clerical Salaries	$ 375.00(D)	375.00(B)	
Carnegie Travel Grant Committee:			
Clerical Salaries (Paid from General Funds)		200.00(B)	
Miscellaneous Expenses of Prior Years (Withdrawn from Savings)	617.00	617.00	
Other Committees and Representatives:			
Travel		303.13	
Clerical Salaries		1,500.00(B)	
Miscellaneous Expense		399.60	
	$ 992.00	$ 10,211.91	(9,219.91)
Other Journals:			
Subscriptions	$ 17,778.81	$ 234.50	
Payments to Publishers		15,970.05	
Clerical Salaries		1,500.00(B)	
Miscellaneous Expense		250.00(C)	
	$ 17,778.81	$ 17,954.55	(175.74)
Carried Forward	$172,736.33	$156,731.43	$16,004.90

THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION
EXHIBIT A—*Continued*

STATEMENT OF CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS (*Continued*) — FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDED NOVEMBER 30, 1960

	Cash Receipts	Cash Disbursements	Excess (Deficiency) of Receipts Over Disbursements
Brought Forward	$172,736.33	$156,731.43	$16,004.90
MacIver Award:			
Savings Account Interest	$ 65.49		
Royalties	87.57		
Travel (Withdrawn from Savings)		$ 410.29	
	$ 153.06	$ 410.29	(257.23)
Carnegie Travel Grant:			
Savings Account Interest	$ 146.01		
Travel of Delegates— (Paid from General Funds)		$ 639.67	
	$ 146.01	$ 639.67	(493.66)
Miscellaneous:			
Travel Under Asia Foundation Grant	$ 577.00(D)	$ 577.00	
Grant from Asia Foundation—			
Allocable to Expenses of Future Years	1,625.00(D)		
Portion of Prior Year's Grants Allocated to Expenses of Current Year	(1,078.33) (D)		
Not Allocated	368.00(D)		
Dues to I.S.A.		600.00	
Dues to A.C.L.S.		100.00	
Certificates to Fellows	2.00	1,053.20	
Insurance on Journals		(49.43)	
Surety Bonds		125.00	
Mailing List Rentals	2,291.12	1,378.50	
Dividends	168.75		
Interest on Savings Accounts (General)	403.95		
Interest on U.S. Government Securities	520.00	22.64	
Audit Fee		300.00	
Social Security Taxes (Net)		1,550.43	
Miscellaneous Income and Expense	45.50	34.15	
Redemption and Purchase of U.S. Government Securities	1,480.00	1,961.88	
	$ 6,402.99	$ 7,653.37	(1,250.38)
TOTAL CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS	$179,438.39	$165,434.76	
EXCESS OF CASH RECEIPTS OVER DISBURSEMENTS (Carried Forward)			$14,003.63

THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION
EXHIBIT A—*Continued*

STATEMENT OF CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS (*Continued*)		FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDED NOVEMBER 30, 1960
EXCESS OF CASH RECEIPTS OVER DISBURSEMENTS (Brought Forward)		$14,003.63
CASH BALANCE—NOVEMBER 30, 1959		47,002.84
CASH BALANCE—NOVEMBER 30, 1960		$ 61,006.47
Consisting of:		
General Funds:		
Checking Accounts—		
Chemical Bank New York Trust Co.:		
Regular	$ 35,595.57	
Payroll	886.76	
	$ 36,482.33	
Disbursed for Carnegie Travel Grant Fund and Committee	839.67	$37,322.00
Savings Accounts—		
American Irving Savings Bank		10,798.33
		$48,120.33
Carnegie Travel Grant:		
Savings Account—First National City Bank	$ 4,453.59	
Less: Due to General Fund	839.67	3,613.92
Robert MacIver Award Fund:		
Savings Account—First National City Bank		2,059.52
Sociology Today Fund:		
Savings Account—Manhattan Savings Bank		7,212.70
		$61,006.47

Notes:
(A) Includes membership dues for the calendar year 1961 of $27,072.49.
(B) Allocated portion of office salaries paid.
(C) Includes allocated portion of office printing and mailing expenses.
(D) Allocation of funds granted by Asia Foundation.

THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION
EXHIBIT B

STATEMENT OF SECURITIES TRANSACTIONS — FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDED NOVEMBER 30, 1960

			Balance November 30, 1959		Transactions During the Year			Balance November 30, 1960			Interest and Dividends Received During the Year
		Date Acquired	Face Amount or Number of Shares	Book Value	Purchases	Sales Proceeds	Profit	Face Amount or Number of Shares	Book Value	Redemption or Market Value	
Bonds:											
U. S. Savings	Series F due 6/1/57	1945	$ 2,000.00	$ 1,480.00	$.....	$ 1,480.00	$.....	$.....	$.....	$.....	$ 520.00
U. S. Savings	Series F due 8/1/62	1950	8,000.00	5,920.00	.....	.....	.....	8,000.00	5,920.00	7,432.00	.....
U. S. Savings	Series J due 3/1/66	1954	11,000.00	7,920.00	.....	.....	.....	11,000.00	7,920.00	9,207.00	.....
U. S. Savings	Series J due 3/1/67	1955	11,100.00	7,992.00	.....	.....	.....	11,100.00	7,992.00	9,013.20	.....
U. S. Savings	Series J due 5/1/68	1956	4,175.00	3,006.00	.....	.....	.....	4,175.00	3,006.00	3,294.06	.....
U. S. Treasury Notes	Series B due 5/15/63	2/26/60	.....	.....	1,961.88	.....	.....	2,000.00	1,961.88	2,027.50	(22.64) (A)
Stocks:											
Standard Oil Company of New Jersey	Capital	1940–57	75	669.75	.....	.....	.....	75	669.75	2,878.13	168.75
				$26,987.75	$ 1,961.88	$ 1,480.00	$.....		$29,469.63	$33,851.89	$ 666.11

Note: (A) Interest accrued from November 15, 1959 to date of purchase. Interest of $80.00 (through November 15, 1960) collected in February 1961.

Financial Report from the Executive Office, April, 1961

Table 1 summarizes the expenditures for the past year, comparing them with the authorized budget for that year, and indicating the extent to which the various activities of the Association were self-supporting (through subscriptions, advertising, and the like) or were supported from dues or special funds. This statement adjusts the cash figures as shown by the audit in order to fit the current year more exactly. An approximate 7 per cent increase in membership produced $78,550 in dues income. This was $4,685 more than in 1959. This additional income served to support the expanding new program of Association activities. Royalties from *Sociology Today* amounting to $1,766 (for the first half of 1960 only) were deposited in a special fund.

Table 2 shows the budget which has been authorized by the Council for the fiscal year 1961. This budget is designed to support the continuing expansion of Association activities and to take care of rising costs. It provides for further additions to the number of pages in the *Review* as well as increased printing costs; the various activities of the Association's Committees and Sections, and the printing of the 1960 Cumulative *Index* to the *Review*. It is estimated that the cost of such services to members and to the profession can be met again this year without a deficit.

Respectfully submitted,
JANICE HARRIS HOPPER
Administrative Officer

TABLE 1. ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICER'S FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR THE FISCAL YEAR 1960

	Budget Total	Total Actual	Income Allocations: Dues	Special Funds	All Other (Subs., ads., etc.)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
EXPENDITURES					
I. PUBLICATIONS					
Review	$ 54,066	$ 54,389	$24,640	$ 950	$28,799
Sociometry	10,688	10,769	(+1,420)	700	11,489
Empl. Bulletin	4,337	4,505	4,273		232
Index	350	700	539		161
Directory	4,489[b]	4,489	3,059		1,430
Research Listing	2,300	1,956	1,249		707
Program Abstracts	[a]	[a]	(+278)		278
Russell Sage Bulletins	909	1,176	(+2,793)	3,700	269
Directory Analysis		58[d]	58		
Sociology Today (Sales)		603	(+10)		613
TOTAL	$ 77,139	$ 78,645	$29,317	$ 5,350	$43,978
II. ANNUAL MEETING	6,400	7,268	(+744)		8,012
III. OFFICE (excl. amt. allocated)[4]	30,118	31,564[e]	31,564		
IV. SECTIONS AND AFFILIATES	3,450	3,991	2,609		1,382
V. COMMITTEES	10,175	10,212	9,220	992	
VI. MISCELLANEOUS[e]	19,937	23,014	1,486	1,487	20,041
TOTAL EXPENDITURES	$147,649	$154,694	$73,452	$ 7,829	$73,413
TOTAL INCOME	$149,556	$159,792	$78,550	$ 7,829	$73,413
NET INCOME	$ 1,907	$ 5,098			

TABLE 2. BUDGET FOR THE FISCAL YEAR 1961

	Budget Requiring Authorization	Details of Publication Budget	Income Allocations: Dues	Income Allocations: Special Funds	Income Allocations: All Other (Subs., ads., etc.)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
EXPENDITURES					
I. PUBLICATIONS					
Review		$ 58,858	$26,026	$ 950	$31,882
Sociometry		11,214	(+762)	700	11,276
Empl. Bulletin		4,829	4,598		231
Index		1,648[a]	(+1,415)		3,063
Directory		4,489[b]	4,289		200
Research Listing		2,130	1,305		825
Program Abstracts		[c]	(+278)		278
Russell Sage Bulletins		926	(+2,303)	2,950	279
Sociology Today[d]		250	61		189
TOTAL	$ 84,344		$31,521	$ 4,600	$48,223
II. ANNUAL MEETING	6,600		192		6,408
III. OFFICE (excl. amts. allocated)	32,494		32,494		
IV. SECTIONS AND AFFILIATES	4,000		1,912		2,088
V. COMMITTEES	17,294[e]		11,819	5,475	
VI. MISCELLANEOUS	22,418		1,849	1,100	19,469
TOTAL EXPENDITURES	$167,150		$79,787	$11,175	$76,188
TOTAL INCOME	$168,339		$80,976	$11,175	$76,188
NET INCOME	$ 1,189		$ 1,189	$11,175	$76,188

NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

Sections of the American Sociological Association

Section on Social Psychology. The results of the election of officers for 1962 are as follows: Guy E. Swanson, Chairman; Alex Inkeles, Chairman-Elect; John A. Clausen and Theodore M. Newcomb, Council Members (three-year term); Dorwin Cartwright, Council Member (1962); and Fred Davis, Secretary-Treasurer.

Calendar of Meetings, August and September. Aug. 23–25, **National Council on Family Relations,** University of Utah; Information—Ruth Jewson, Exec. Sec'y, National Council on Family Relations, 1219 University Ave., S.E., Minneapolis 14, Minnesota. Aug. 24–27, **International Congress of Group Psychotherapy,** Paris, France; Information—Dr. W. J. Warner, P.O. Box 819, Grand Central Station, New York 17, N. Y. Aug. 28–29, **Society for the Study of Social Problems,** St. Louis, Mo. Aug. 30–Sept. 2, **American Sociological Association,** St. Louis, Mo. Aug. 30–Sept. 5, **International Congress on Mental Health,** Paris, France; Information—Secretary General, World Federation for Mental Health, 19 Manchester St., London W.1. Aug. 31–Sept. 6, **American Psychological Association,** New York City; Information—Prof. George S. Speer, A.P.A. Convention Manager, 225 South Euclid Ave., Oak Park, Illinois. Sept. 7–9, **American Political Science Association,** St. Louis, Mo.; Information—Evron M. Kirkpatrick, 1726 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington 6, D. C. Sept. 11–16, **International Union for Scientific Study of Population, Biennial Meeting,** New York University, New York City; Information—Clyde V. Kiser, Milbank Memorial Fund, 40 Wall St., New York 5, N. Y. Sept. 26–30, **International Political Science Association,** Fifth World Congress, Paris, UNESCO.

The Inter-American Conference on Research and Training in Sociology. Twenty sociologists from Latin America and the United States were invited by the Joint Committee on Latin American Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council, to participate in a three-day conference, August 27 to 29 at the Center for Advanced Studies in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford. This Conference is one of several initiated in an endeavor to improve communication among American scholars by the Council on Higher Education in the American Republics,

which has made available the funds to make this meeting possible.

Sociologists from the United States who will attend the Conference are John A. Clausen, Sanford M. Dornbusch, Pendleton Herring, Rex D. Hopper, Joseph A. Kahl, Thomas Ktsanes, Seymour M. Lipset, Wilbert E. Moore, T. Lynn Smith, Charles Wagley, Bryce Wood, and Donald Young. Sociologists from Latin America and the countries they represent are Orlando Fals Borda, Colombia, Guillermo Briones, Chile, Wilberg Jimenez Castro, Costa Rica, Gino Germani, Argentina, Peter Heintz, Chile, L. A. Costa Pinto, Brazil, Luis Recasens-Siches, Mexico, and Jose Arthur Rios, Brazil.

The Bombay Sociologists announce that, under the leadership of G. S. Ghurye, Professor Emeritus of Sociology, University of Bombay, J. F. Bulsara, and M. J. Sethna, they have formed an official society. All interested university graduates in sociology, psychology, philosophy, and anthropology who are residents of Greater Bombay are eligible for membership. The society was inaugurated last March by the Governor of Bombay with the charter members forming the governing body until the first elections next year. The Office-Bearers and Members of the Managing Committee for 1961–1962 are: J. F. Bulsara, President; J. V. Ferreira and S. G. Bhatkal, Vice-Presidents; B. R. Agarwala and Miss M. B. Fonseca, Joint Honorary Secretaries; D. N. Kale, Treasurer; and G. S. Ghurye, M. J. Sethna, K. C. Vyas, M. Piramal, and S. S. Hoodha, Members.

Meetings of the general membership will be held every three months to discuss important social problems of the day.

The Institute for American Universities at Aix-en-Provence, France, announces that it makes appointments for visiting lecturers. The Institute welcomes applications from sociologists who may be visiting Europe, or who are on sabbatical leave and would be interested in giving a course, in English, on European Communities for American undergraduates. The stipend is modest, but the University of Aix-Marseille has excellent facilities for research. Requests for further information should be addressed to Herbert Maza, Director of the Institute for American Universities, 21 rue Gaston-de-Saporta, Aix-en-Provence, France.

Institut de Sociologie Solvay de l'Université Libre de Bruxelles have established two new Centers, one in the Sociology of Literature, and the second, on South East Asia.

The American Academy of Arts and Sciences invites inquiries and applications for Grants-in-aid ranging from about 500 to 1500 dollars for research in any recognized scientific field, including the social sciences. Applications must be received before September first for grants to be made in October. Further information may be obtained from the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Committees on Research Funds, 280 Newton Street, Brookline Station 46, Boston, Massachusetts.

The American Immigration and Citizenship Conference announces that in order to provide a service for persons interested in immigration studies, and to encourage further work in this field, the Committee on Research and Studies now issues an *Immigration Research Digest,* a guide to and summary of important new contributions to knowledge of international migration. The *Digest,* which is issued about every six months, is prepared by an interdisciplinary group made up of Roland Berthoff, Princeton University, Robert Cross, Columbia University, John MacDonald, Population Branch of the United Nations, Ernest Rubin, American University, and E. P. Hutchinson, Editor, University of Pennsylvania. Copies may be obtained from the American Immigration and Citizenship Conference, 509 Madison Avenue, New York City, 22.

The Bay Area Forum for Social Science Studies in the Health Fields was organized in March, 1961 to provide a common meeting point and discussion platform for social scientists engaged in applied, theoretical and experimental research in the health fields. A series of informal monthly meetings is planned in which guest speakers will discuss their work with fellow sociologists, anthropologists and others interested in this area. Speakers to date have included Marjorie Fiske Lowenthal of Langley Porter Neuropsychiatric Institute and Charles O. Frake, Stanford University. Sponsors of the Forum are John A. Clausen, Andie L. Knutson, Marjorie Fiske Lowenthal, Anselm L. Strauss, and Edmund H. Volkart. Inquiries should be addressed to the Forum's acting chairman, Fred Davis, School of Nursing, University of California Medical Center, San Francisco 22, California.

Eastern Sociological Society. At the Thirty-First Annual Meeting held April 8 and 9 in New York City, President August B. Hollingshead addressed banquet guests on "Lower Socio-Economic Status, Health, and Illness in Puerto Rico."

A feature of the meeting was the joint presentation of the Annual Merit Award to Ray H. Abrams, and Wellman J. Warner, each of whom received a scroll bearing the citation "in recognition of high attainment in the advancement of sociological studies and service to the profession of sociology this expression of esteem by his colleagues" and a check for 200 dollars.

Newly elected officers announced at the business meeting are: Robert Freed Bales, President-Elect; Bernard Barber, Vice-President; Charles H. Page, Representative to the Council of the American Sociological Association; Harold Pfautz, member of the Executive Committee. Alex Inkeles, President-Elect, became President for 1961–1962. August B. Hollingshead, now as Past-President; Sylvia F. Fava, Secretary-Treasurer, and Kurt Mayer and Orville G. Brim, Jr., members, continue their terms on the Executive Committee.

The next annual meeting will be held April 7 and 8, 1962, at the Warwick Hotel, Philadelphia. Those wishing to submit papers for consideration by the Program Committee should send two copies of the paper, not exceeding 1,500 words, to the Secretary-Treasurer, Dr. Sylvia F. Fava, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Brooklyn College, Brooklyn 10, New York, no later than December 15, 1961.

The National Council on Crime and Delinquency has recently established a National Research and Information Center on Crime and Delinquency as an idea center in the field and a clearing house for current projects on adult crime and juvenile delinquency. Supported by grants from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund and the National Institute of Mental Health, the Center will collect and disseminate information on research, institutional programs and services, experiments, innovations, developments, and demonstrations. Information is needed on projects that are under way, unpublished, or published in places where they may escape the full attention of those interested in prevention, control and treatment of crime and delinquency. Communications should be directed to Dr. Hyman H. Frankel, Director, The National Research and Information Center on Crime and Delinquency, 44 East 23rd St., New York 10, N. Y.

The National Institute of Mental Health is making available, under the Mental Health Small Research Grant Program, grants up to a maximum of 3,500 dollars plus indirect costs to encourage the initiation of research in the social and medical sciences relevant to mental health. By providing limited funds in a relatively rapid and flexible manner, this program is intended to be of particular value to investigators for the support of preliminary research explorations or of small-scale studies. Applications for small grants may be submitted at any time with notification of action usually within three months. Information and forms may be obtained from Dr. Dorothy Terry Carlson, Executive Secretary, Mental Health Small Grant Committee, National Institute of Mental Health, Bethesda 14, Maryland.

The Office of Senator Pat. McNamara, Washington, D. C. announces the appointment of Harold L. Sheppard, currently on leave from Wayne State University, as Staff Director of the Senate Special Committee on Aging. Sheppard, who was Research Director of the Committee since 1959, succeeds Sidney Spector, now Administrator in a program for the elderly with the Housing and Home Finance Agency.

The Society for the Scientific Study of Sex announces the result of its first election of officers as follows: President, Albert Ellis; President-elect, Christopher Tietze; Secretary, Hugo G. Beigel; Treasurer, Robert V. Sherwin. Plans for the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Society, to be held November 14, 1961, in New York City, will include a panel discussion on sex in the aging and another on sexual factors in schizophrenia.

Adelphi College. **Appointed**—*Malcolm J. Arth,* Assistant Professor of Anthropology, formerly of the Geriatric Hospitalization Project in Boston;—*Robert Endleman,* Associate Professor of Sociology, formerly of the State University of New York, Oyster Bay;—*Akonsola Akiwowo,* Assistant Professor of Sociology, formerly of Beloit College;—*Stephen H. K. Yeh,* Instructor in Sociology, formerly of McBurney School of New York. **Other**—The Department of Sociology has recently been changed to the Department of Sociology and Anthropology with expanded departmental offerings for a Master's degree in Sociology.

Bates College. **Awarded**—to *Peter P. Jonitis,* Associate Professor of Sociology, a National Science Foundation grant to study anthropology at the Summer Institute, University of Colorado.

Boston University. **Appointed**—*Meyer F. Nimkoff,* Visiting Professor for the fall semester, who is currently chairman of the sociology department at Florida State University.

Brandeis University. **Appointed** — *Everett Cherrington Hughes,* Professor of Sociology offering graduate and undergraduate courses in racial and cultural contacts, and social institutions, formerly of the University of Chicago;—*Philip E. Slater,* Assistant Professor, formerly of Harvard University;—*Lawrence K. Frank,* Professor of Sociology, who also is engaged in work for the Commission on Outdoor Recreation and is a member of the Committee on Science and the Promotion of Human Welfare of the American Association for the Advancement of Science; *Robert Feldmesser,* Director of a program for secondary-school social science education under the sponsorship of the Harvard University Graduate School of Education.

Awarded—to *Alvin D. Zalinger,* a Ford Foundation grant to continue research on the reactions of Africans to study in the United States. *Resigned*—*Suzanne Keller,* in order to continue work on the theory of elites and teach in New York City.

Cornell University. **Other** — *Alexander H. Leighton, Dorothea C. Leighton, Charles C. Hughes, Jane M. Hughes,* and *David M. Macklin* are working as a team with T. Adeoye Lambo, head of the Aro Mental Hospital, Nigeria to study mental health problems and social change in a newly independent country. The Nigerian project, part of a continuing Cornell program concerned with changing countries, involves an interdisciplinary program of psychiatry, sociology, and medicine.

University of Illinois. **Appointed**—*Norval Glenn,* Instructor of Sociology, from the University of Texas;—*Kern Dickman,* to the Staff, who is also Research Associate of the Digital Computer Laboratory. **Returned to the Department**—*Mark Field,* who will also do work at the Center for Russian Language and Area Studies. **On leave**—*Guenther Roth,* who will be Visiting Assistant Professor of Sociology at Columbia University for the academic year 1961–1962.

Indiana University. **Appointed**—*Karl F. Schuessler,* Chairman of the Department, to replace John H. Mueller. **On leave**—*Albert K. Cohen,* to spend the academic year 1961–1962 as a Fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Palo Alto during 1961–1962;—*Alfred R. Lindesmith,* for the fall semester;—*John Liell,* to work on a re-study of the Levittown, New York

community. **Awarded**—to George Psathas, a postdoctoral fellowship in the Harvard Training Program for Social Scientists in Medicine.

Johns Hopkins University. **Appointed**—*Shirley A. Star,* Associate Professor of Public Health Administration in the Division of Mental Hygiene, at the School of Hygiene and Public Health.

McMaster University. **On leave**—*Frank E. Jones,* to spend the academic year 1961–1962 as Visiting Fellow in Sociology at the Australian National University in Canberra, and to continue his studies on the social organization of mental hospital wards. **Appointed to the Staff**—*Frances Mischel-Henry* and *Rodney Crook.* **Awarded**—to *Robert A. Dentler* and *Peter C. Pineo* for their report "Sexual Adjustment, Marital Adjustment, and Personal Growth of Husbands: A Panel Analysis," the Ernest W. Burgess Award for the best research article on the family published in 1959 or 1960.

Oberlin College. **Awarded**—to *Kiyoshi Ikeda,* Assistant Professor of Sociology and Anthropology, a faculty grant-in-aid for summer research on a cross-cultural study of the development of bureaucratic complexity.

Oklahoma State University. **Appointed**—*Morris Siegel,* Visiting Professor of Sociology, from the University of Illinois, who will be responsible for a program in cultural anthropology.

Pennsylvania State University. **Appointed**—*Laura Thompson,* Distinguished Visiting Professor of Anthropology, from North Carolina State College. **Returned to the Department**—*Jessie Bernard,* after spending a year as Visiting Professor at Princeton University.

Other—The Anthropology section has been approved by the Graduate School for granting the Master of Arts in Anthropology. The anthropology summer program at San Juan Teotehuacan conducted by William T. Sanders has been expanded to ten weeks this summer. Expansion in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology also is evidenced by this year's 23 per cent enrollment increase over last year, with a total increase of 62 per cent in the last five years. Students for this past semester total 2,646, with 1,462 in the introductory course; of these 922 are taught simultaneously in 25 classrooms by Walter Coutu, using closed circuit television.

Purdue University. **Awarded**—to *Robert Eichhorn,* a National Institutes of Health grant to continue a training program for studying problems of health which parallels the Purdue Farm Cardiac Project conducted by the Departments of Sociology and Agricultural Economics;—to *Robert Bain,* a summer grant from the Purdue Research Foundation to study the relationship between technology and social organizations;—to *Leonard Breen,* a research grant from the Indiana State Board of Health to study the State's nursing homes after having completed two studies, one on aging in the community and, with Philip Marcus, another financed by the National Institute of Labor Education on pre-retirement education in labor unions;—to *Harold Christensen,* a second grant from the Purdue Research Foundation to study mixed and nonmixed religious marriages, following the first grant for linkage research on Utah's marriage, birth and divorce records.

On leave—*James Beshers,* to serve during 1961–1962 as Visiting Associate Professor at Johns Hopkins University. **Appointed**—*Robert Perrucci,* Instructor. **Other**—the Department staff now consists of *Harold T. Christensen* (Head) and *Gerald R. Leslie,* Professors; *James M. Beshers, Leonard Z. Breen, Dwight W. Culver, Edward Z. Dager, Robert L. Eichhorn* and *Walter Hirsch,* Associate Professors; *Robert Bain, Sidney Greenfield* and *Hanna Meissner,* Assistant Professors; *Eugene Kanin, Philip Marcus,* and *Robert Perrucci,* Instructors.

Rutgers University. **On leave**—*John W. Riley, Jr.,* Chairman, to serve as Second Vice-President and Director of Social Research for the Equitable Life Assurance Society. **Appointed**—*Simon Marcson,* Acting Chairman of the Department, who is also serving in the Industrial Relations Section of Princeton University;—*Jackson Toby,* Consultant to the Ford Foundation in their work on juvenile delinquency;—*Nathan Gould,* to the anthropology staff, who is also directing research in health practices and community structure;—*Solomon Poll,* to the sociology staff, who is also engaged in research at the University of Pennsylvania's Greenfield Human Relations Center.

Returned to the Department—*C. F. Marden,* after a three-year leave of absence as Reconciliation Master for the Superior Court of New Jersey;—*Paul Massing,* after a year in Germany and is completing his study of a German village.

San Diego State College. **Appointed to the Faculty**—*Nicos Mouratides,* from the University of Minnesota;—*William Bates,* from Washington University. **Awarded**—to *Frank Young,* a summer grant from the College Foundation for his study of community change in rural Mexico;—to *Morris Daniels,* a National Institute of Mental Health small grant to continue research on the nurse's role. **Other**—A new computing center with IBM installations will have, as its first project, a study of delinquency initiated by the Sociology Department with *Bernard Kirby, Aubrey Wendling, William Bates,* and *Thomas McJunkins* participating.

Sweet Briar College. **Awarded**—to *Belle Boone Beard,* a Fulbright grant to teach at the new Woman's University in Seoul, Korea, where she is also conducting research in gerontology. **Other**—*Bertha Wailes,* Associate Professor of Sociology, will return from her recent retirement to act as substitute;—*Arthur Phillippe Jacoby,* who received his doctorate degree last year from Rochester University is Assistant Professor.

Syracuse University. **Appointed**—*Irwin Deutscher,* Director of Research for the Youth Development Center, and Associate Professor of Sociology,

formerly with Community Studies, Inc. of Kansas City;—*Robert H. Hardt*, Research Associate supervising apprehension data for the Center, and Assistant Professor of Sociology;—*C. V. Willie*, Research Associate for the Center's study of multiproblem families, and Assistant Professor of Sociology;—*Seymour Bellin*, Project Director of Public Housing and Social Mobility supported by a special Ford Foundation grant, formerly with the New York State Mental Health Research Unit;—*Jerome Cohen*, Field Director for the Social Mobility study;—*Nathan Goldman*, Research Associate with the Center, who recently completed a study on school vandalism under a U. S. Office of Education grant;—*S. M. Miller*, Research Associate and Professor of Sociology, formerly of Brooklyn College;—*George Bodine* and *George Freskos*, Research Assistants.

Temple University. **Re-elected**—*Leonard Blumberg*, as Chairman of the Sociology and Anthropology Department. **Appointed**—*Jack V. Buerkle*, Associate Professor, who also has received grants to continue work on inter-institutional images and communication patterns in small business;—*Leonard D. Savitz*, Assistant Professor;—*Edwin Eames*, Sociological Research Associate for the Lower Middle Income Housing Study of Pennsylvania under the Home and Housing Finance Administration. **Awarded**—to *Leonard D. Savitz*, a grant from the Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations to study the general area of race and crime.

Texas Christian University. **Other**—A conference in April chaired by S. B. Sells, Professor of Psychology, and attended by over thirty sociologists and psychologists from universities, government and private research agencies was held to summarize significant research on the topic "Research Dimensions of Stimulus Situations Which Account for Behavior Variance" and to plan a program of future research.

Trinity College. **Awarded**—to *Eva J. Ross*, Professor of Sociology, a Fulbright grant to lecture on sociology at the newly established Facultad of Sociology at the Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Bogata, through December; the remainder of her sabbatical leave will be spent in Europe and the Orient.

Washington University, St. Louis. **On leave**—*Alvin W. Gouldner*, to spend the academic year 1961–1962 as a Fellow of the Center for Advanced Studies in the Behavioral Sciences at Palo Alto;—*Nicholas J. Demerath*, to serve as Ford Foundation Professor in the School of Business at Indiana University, spring, 1961. **Returned to the Department**—*Joseph A. Kahl*, after a year studying changing career patterns at the Latin American Center for Research in the Social Sciences, Rio de Janeiro, and will also serve as acting chairman during Gouldner's absence.

Appointed—*David J. Pittman*, Project Director of the St. Louis Metropolitan Population Project to provide population information to agencies and researchers;—*David B. Carpenter*, Director of a comparative urban study of the United States and Japan, and also, Assistant Department Chairman;—*Gregory P. Stone*, Project Director of local urban study for the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission; *John W. Bennett*, Summer Visiting Professor of Anthropology at the University of Puerto Rico, who will study cultural change in the South Saskatchewan River Valley this fall, and is currently President of the Society for Applied Anthropology;—*John C. Glidewell*, to the Committee on Research, Center for the Behavioral Sciences at George Washington University;—*Lee N. Robbins*, Co-Director of a study of former child guidance clinic patients supported by the United States Public Health Service and, also, Director of a methodological study supported by the National Science Foundation;—*Mildred Kantor*, Director of Vital Statistics at the St. Louis County Health Department;—*Carl Withers*, Visiting Lecturer in Anthropology in conjunction with the direction of a Youth Culture Project undertaken jointly with the United States Children's Bureau.

Awarded—to *Robert L. Hamblin*, a renewed grant from the National Institute of Mental Health for research on adolescent behavior. **Elected**—*Jules Henry*, Vice-President-Elect of the American Orthopsychiatric Foundation.

BOOK REVIEWS

Social Behavior: Its Elementary Forms. By GEORGE CASPAR HOMANS. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1961. viii, 404 pp. $5.50.

This new book may be read both as a sequel to Homans' *The Human Group*, to which there is frequent reference with occasional revision, and independently as the systematic statement of a theory of interaction. Homans seeks here to *explain* the social behavior which previously he *described*. By explaining he means showing that generalizations at one level are instances of generalizations at a more inclusive level. The explanatory framework is borrowed from economics, defining interaction as exchange in which each participant seeks fair value received for value given. A set of propositions from learning theory enables the author to augment his prediction at various points. But the solid accomplishment of the book is the stey-by-step expansion of the idea of value in order to extend the detail in which the exchange principle will explain behavior.

Homans' data are previously published experimental studies of small group interaction and field investigations of informal groups in industry. His attack resembles the earlier work of Josephine Klein in beginning with simple relationships and introducing complications by orderly steps. Unlike Klein, who takes group effectiveness as her dependent variable, Homans seeks to predict and explain the likelihood that an individual will emit a given type of behavior in social interaction. The behaviors explained are either sentiments such as liking and satisfaction or activities proper. Accordingly his discourse is social psychological in flavor.

Developing systematically the lead that Waller, Kirkpatrick, and other sociologists have employed sporadically, Homans sees interaction as a bargain in which reward is weighed against cost, the difference constituting profit. Reasonable profit is judged on the basis of a principle of distributive justice, which says that profit should be in proportion to investment. Everything hinges on what behaviors are valued so that they may count as reward or cost. Apart from task objectives, Homans stresses such rewards as receiving approval, agreement, liking, and esteem. Costs are incurred when one's own rewards are threatened, as in taking time away from ones own task to help another or in giving him esteem.

A good example of the way in which exchange theory illuminates a common-place idea is the treatment of tendencies for people to interact most frequently with their equals. This tendency is explained by suggesting that cost, in the form of admitting inferiority, is eliminated between equals so that the sociability gains are pure profit. But explaining the principle in this way leads to refinement. If status differentiations are completely clear there is no cost to the inferior in admitting an already recognized inferiority and no risk to the superior of demeaning his own position. Hence there is a tendency toward interaction between persons of widely discrepant rather than slightly discrepant statuses.

The book is one of those rare combinations of delightful prose with careful and convincing scholarship. The brutality of systematic generalization is softened by the use of metaphor and folk wisdom, and by frequent departures from serious style. Homans also takes occasion to make jibes at his sociological colleagues who construct theories from the top down. These, however, are hit-and-run attacks and generally irrelevant to the book's main objective.

The only serious embarkation upon controversy occurs in the concluding chapter, which proposes that "elementary social behavior" supplies the processes of institutional behavior. Institutional behavior differs only because the rewards are complex and the exchange indirect, so that the processes must be mediated through explicitly stated norms. The norms, however, only continue to operate so long as they are supported by the workings of elementary behavior. "There is no functional prerequisite for the survival of a society except that the society provide sufficient rewards for its individual members to keep them contributing activities to its maintenance, and that it rewards them not just as members of that society but as men." (p. 384).

The usefulness of a book of this sort may be measured with reference to at least three important tasks. First, supplying an intellectual filing cabinet in which to locate a diversity of research findings with ease is indispensable pedagogically and for cumulative research. This task is superbly performed. Second, demonstration that one explanatory framework is more efficient than competing frameworks is always an implicit objective in a work of this sort. By

occasionally noting that his framework explains findings which troubled the original investigators, Homans makes a case for his framework. But a systematic comparison of explanatory power remains to be carried out. Third, a theory is tested by demonstrations that it generates hypotheses which are subsequently verified, but which were not part of the sociologist's stock in trade. Like most works in our field, this book is largely taken up with re-explaining well-known hypotheses. Hypotheses are "tested" in the wholly legitimate but preliminary fashion of showing that they would have predicted the outcomes of previously completed research. The chief problem in prediction, however, lies in defining and measuring *value* before data are examined. So long as, "followers in some groups find the damnedest things valuable" (p. 287), there is a danger that sufficient ingenuity in identifying values may render and hypothesis irrefutable. It would be difficult, however, to name a major sociological work which has met the latter two ideal standards more adequately than this book.

In substance *Social Behavior* is unique in bringing small group and industrial studies into the compass of an interactional theory, while making a qualitative differentiation of behavior rather than group efficiency the dependent variable. For the former reason it is more useful to sociologists than most contemporary approaches. For the latter reason it has advantages of flexibility and applicability to group phenomena such as the family in which the criterion of group efficiency is insufficiently fruitful. Sociology has been substantially advanced by this volume.

RALPH H. TURNER
University of Caliornia, Los Angeles

Social Systems: Essays on Their Persistence and Change. By CHARLES P. LOOMIS. Van Nostrand Series in Sociology. Princeton, N.J.; Toronto; London; New York: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1960. xi, 349 pp. $6.50.

Professor Loomis' active professional participation has admirably equipped him for the attempt to integrate theory and research in the *Social Systems*. With discrimination and care he has defined conceptual categories, some of which resemble Parsonian terminology, and constructed a basic research model which he calls the Processually Articulated Structural Model (or PASM). His model contains elemental processes, structural-functional categories, and elements each of which is subdivided into nine specific attributes of individuals actors. In addition, there are six comprehensive or master processes and the three conditions of social action. Sources for this theoretical model include the writings of some of the best known names in sociological theory —e.g., Toennies, Durkheim, Weber, Sorokin, Parsons, Merton, Becker, and Homans. The PASM is "designed to facilitate on-going empirical investigations and to systematize assorted data" (p. v), in order to aid over-all analysis and scientific generalization. More generally, its purpose is "to develop understanding, improve prediction, and increase . . . control of the universe." (p. 1).

The author delimits his problem more specifically to the phenomena of change as is indicated by the subtitle "Essays on Their Persistence and Change." He assumes that change is constant, possibly slow, and upward. "There is no social system in which time stands still entirely; social evolution though slow is inexorable," (p. 213) or, as Sorokin had proposed earlier, "social systems cannot help changing." (p. 10). These and other statements suggest that Loomis is committed to a linear viewpoint of social change. The analysis of disaster areas, however, proceeds primarily from an equilibrium perspective. The application of the PASM to social change would have benefited greatly from a separate discussion of the empirical forms of change.

The PASM is presented in the form of a model. Methodologists have ordinarily construed models as analogies to systems in other sciences, as representative systems, as more readily conceivable totalities, or as miniatures of complex wholes which can be used as standards of comparison in the study of empirical phenomena or systems. Except for one statement which suggests a biological analogy, (p. 43) the PASM seems not to be a model in the usual sense. Rather it is a series of logically, sometimes tautologically, defined concepts the interdependence of which is implicit rather than explicit. In chapters two through seven, Loomis analyses such problems as the division of labor, religion, education, health, and disaster in terms of the PASM elements. The holistic image of various social systems derives not from the use of the model but indirectly from the comparisons invoked. The division of labor is examined in terms of the ideal types of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*; the phenomena of disaster in terms of the pre-disaster, disaster, and reconstruction phases; religion by juxtaposing Christianity to other world religions as well as to Christian sects and denominations; the Amish community is contrasted to its secular neighbors; and education is viewed as a microcosm of the larger U.S., U.S.S.R., and Mexican societies. By premising primarily attributes

of individual actors, the PAS model fails to articulate the holistic relationships which emerge through these other comparative relationships.

Although it incorporates communication, boundary maintenance, systemic linkage, institutionalization, socialization, and social control as master processes, Loomis' book is basically committed to the social action trend current in sociological theory. Some of the basic methodological and theoretical questions which *Social Systems* raises might equally well be directed toward the social action perspective generally. For instance:

1. If there are indeed distinguishable and separate scientific goals of understanding, prediction, and control—as Loomis suggests—can the same methods and theories be employed to attain all of these ends? Or can sociologists predict and control without understanding how empirical relationships operate?

2. Does the use of models limit the problems sociologists may formulate, and indeed prevent the asking of significant questions from other perspectives?

3. If a goal of sociology is scientific generalization—presumably generalization about empirical phenomena—can analysis and systematization in terms of primarily theoretically and logically derived concepts and categories lead to that end? Can the problem of change, for instance, be approached in terms of logically distinct conceptions of knowing, feeling, norming, etc., considered independently of the historical and social setting in which change occurs? Loomis seemed unable to confine his analysis to the logical aspects of the PASM and introduced data from the socio-historical setting whenever needed.

4. Can a nominalistic theory, relying on individual states of knowing, feeling, choosing, etc., hope to account for all social phenomena, or is it time to develop other perspectives, theoretical problems, and hypotheses? Social change certainly seems to be a problem which does not lend itself to analysis and study from the social action point of view.

GISELA J. HINKLE
Ohio State University

Georg Simmel, 1858–1918: A Collection of Essays, with Translations and a Bibliography. Edited by KURT H. WOLFF. Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1959. xv, 396 pp. $7.50.

Georg Simmel's influence on sociologists in the United States was conspicuous from the beginning of the establishment of sociology in the universities shortly after the turn of the century until the mid-thirties. From that time to the present, Emile Durkheim has probably been a more frequent source of inspiration from the past for the sociologists who hold the center of the stage today. Simmel has not been displaced, however. In important respects, these two men represent two levels of analysis of social phenomena as well as two basic conceptions of the nature of the social realm. The differences between them still divide sociologists. It is time that the case for Simmel, and hence for those who share his perspective, be brought to our attention again. This volume of essays meets this need successfully enough to merit a large professional audience.

A dozen men cannot present a unified study of a man and his work. Nevertheless, Kurt Wolff's editing has been sufficiently skillful to enable a reader to grasp the major outlines of Simmel's point of view. The essays by Kantorowicz, Levine, Weingartner, Tenbruck, Duncan, and Lipman, in combination, deal with Simmel's most systematic formulations of the things that profoundly concern sociologists. They discuss Simmel's conception of the essential nature of social phenomena, of the forms in which they become manifest and can be observed, and of some of the methods by which they can be studied. Walter and Becker provide illustrations of ways in which Simmel applied his kind of analysis to particular social manifestations. Honigsheim, Maus, Shimmei, and Salz comment on Simmel's influence and reputation.

The book includes several newly translated excerpts from Simmel's writings. "The Adventure," "The Ruin," "The Handle," and "The Aesthetic Significance of the Face" illustrate Simmel's intellectual playfulness rather than his serious thought. His was the kind of mind that dissects everything that attracts its attention according to a relatively consistent set of ideas. This, rather than systematic formulation, is what gives unity to Simmel's work. "On the Nature of Philosophy," "The Problem of Sociology," and "How is Society Possible?" deal with the core of Simmel's conceptions of sociology as a special category of knowledge. The usefulness of this book is enhanced by the inclusion of an extensive bibliography of writings about Simmel, compiled by Kurt Gassen, and of Simmel's writings in German and those translated into English, compiled by Kurt Wolff.

Simmel's conception of the nature of the social realm and his abstract analyses of particular social phenomena are not amenable to proof and disproof. They will be accepted or rejected on the basis of whether or not they

contribute to understanding of human behavior and social order. "It is not surprising that this method is seldom adopted by contemporary social scientists. Professional status is likely to depend on the mastery of certain research techniques, competence in the intricacies of a particular system of theory, or familiarity with data pertaining to a certain society, period, or civilization. None of these valuable achievements acquired in customary professional training prepares or inclines one toward the kind of inquiry carried on by Simmel, which demands a certain intellectual independence and an imagination capable of discovering or creating significant formal problems. Such qualities can be promoted or destroyed by the organization of higher learning; they can scarcely be trained." (Levine, pp. 30–31).

Just because the kind of intellectual skill that was Simmel's special talent is rare, this book is especially welcome. It is a new and useful guide for students of all persuasions to a man whom sociologists cannot afford to neglect. Their subject would be impoverished without the insights of Georg Simmel.

DOROTHY R. BLITSTEN

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Emile Durkheim, 1858–1917: A Collection of Essays, with Translations and a Bibliography. Edited by KURT H. WOLFF. Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1960. xiv, 463 pp. $7.50.

You will find at least four kinds of intellectual matter in this commemorative collection: a series of translations from Durkheim's work; biographical essays; assessments of the meaning and influence of Durkheim's ideas and enquiries; and an introductory bibliography of his books, his writings available in English, and discussions of him and of his works.

Say what you will about forgetting the founders of sociology, or any other reasonably distinct and disciplined mode of enquiry, some necessity for vivid models persists. Durkheim self-evidently belongs to the founders and, especially, to the models that keep alive what they also helped bring into existence. His ideas seem clear enough to lead fairly directly to specific enquiries—and yet on further inspection, they are complex enough to invite continuous reappraisal. His work, taken piece by piece, confronts questions and assembles evidence transcending local interests and utility: he is concerned with generic issues that can be concretely pursued. Taken as a whole, his work has range *and* direction. It embodies the enlargement, in one lifetime, of an individual mind. Equally, it represents the possibility of a cumulative enhancement of results within that collective enterprise to which sociology belongs. Durkheim shows what can be done in the doing of it and thereby multiplies the opportunities for doing even more. At least, this is one way (and reason) for sustaining an intellectual exchange with Durkheim—and for reading this book. There are other ways, and other reasons.

In fact, by way of a preface, Kurt Wolff, as editor, provides a convenient conspectus of the manuscripts he has assembled. The translations include general observations on the nature of sociology; lectures on pragmatism and sociology; and a very lucid, if equally problematic, essay on the duality of human existence. Organic nature and society are at odds within us: "Because society surpasses us, it obliges us to surpass ourselves; and to surpass itself, a being must, to some degree, depart from its nature . . . All evidence compels us to expect our effort in the struggle between the two beings within us to increase with the growth of civilization." (pp. 338–339). A review is no place to come to terms with such a view. Within the book, at least eight of the essays, however, seek to come to terms with Durkheim in one respect or another. Joseph Neyer, for instance, traces the development in Durkheim's views of a general image of modern man by examining Durkheim's treatment of individualism and socialism. Paul Bohannan seeks to align notions of the "conscience collective" to more recent views of culture and hopes that we come to pay more attention to "representations," even if both culture and society can be studied independently of them. Melvin Richter provides arguments for thinking of Durkheim as "very much the late nineteenth century liberal" and Lewis Coser finds him a man of conservative orientation, who by-passes important social facts and phenomena, including many of the divisions and conflicts within society and the possibilities of cooperation without constraint. Albert Pierce contends that Durkheim cannot be considered a functionalist in the contemporary sense of that label and that we have let ourselves be deflected from Durkheim's concern with the social as such. Others—such as Paul Honigsheim, Kazuta Kurauchi, and Roscoe Hinkle—document the influence Durkheim has had. Among the best essays in this collection, however, are the two by Talcott Parsons and Hugh Duncan dealing, respectively, with the ideas and phenomena of integration and ritual, and the biographical observations on Durkheim, his milieu, and his disciplines, by Henri Peyre, Albert Salomon, and Paul Honigsheim. Parsons argues that Durkheim's persistent concern with

"the primary core of the social system itself"—and hence with the issue of its coherence—helps constitute his theoretical stature. This stature is more specifically disclosed in such concepts as anomie, mechanical and organic solidarity, and "conscience collective." The revision and refinement of these governing ideas, made necessary and possible by other theoretical advances, notably those of Freud and Weber, are not proof of the weakness but of the strength of Durkheim's questions and general proposals. Duncan sees in ritual, and more generally in drama, a major opportunity for the study of society, the more so since society demands drama and ritual for its very constitution. There is still much to be done before we possess a sufficiently clear and differentiated notion of these phenomena, but Durkheim contributed substantially to a growing source of ideas that allows us to penetrate with some precision the mutual dependence of social reality and dramatic presentations. The other three essays show what nourished Durkheim and what he gave in return; they show his relations to French civilization; and they show the relation of his descendants to him. Surely it is good that we can be Durkheim's heirs for all the new directions in which we must move. Kurt Wolff deserves our gratitude for convenient and stimulating help in the inescapable process of intellectual reappraisal. It was probably inevitable that this collection should be so very much better than its companion volume on Georg Simmel.

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John Millar of Glasgow, 1735–1801: His Life and Thought and His Contributions to Sociological Analysis. By WILLIAM C. LEHMANN. Foreword by ROBERT M. MACIVER. Published for the Department of Social and Economic Research, University of Glasgow. London and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1960. xvi, 430 pp. $10.00.

The character of this volume is somewhat obscured by the title: it includes Lehmann's discussion of John Millar's life and work and reproduces, in the latter part, some of Millar's own most important writings, especially *The Origin of the Distinction of Ranks* (1771).

Millar was born in 1735 and died in 1801, and his professional life (his tenure of the Chair of Civil Law at Glasgow) covered forty years in the second half of the eighteenth century. Millar took part in that efflorescence of Scottish cultural life, the "Scottish Augustan Age," made famous by Adam Smith, Adam Ferguson, David Hume, Dugald Stewart, and others, in what was then called moral philosophy, and by such scientists (or "natural philosophers") as William Cullen, Joseph Black, and James Watt. The moral philosophers of the period formed an "intellectual movement": a group of creative men, well-acquainted with each other personally, who shared an intellectual temper that was secular and empirical in its approach, with a tendency, says Lehmann, "to judge conduct . . . by criteria of social motivation and functional utility, rather than by reference to divine sanctions." (p. 93).

An intellectual movement lends support to its members but it also limits their originality. It is clear that much of Millar's analysis of social institutions was not his alone: the "evolutionary naturalism" or "economic determinism" that was basic to his work had much in common with the concepts of Montesquieu, or, nearer home, of Ferguson and Smith, and like them, he used historical and proto-anthropological materials to support his theories. Millar's originality lies, according to Lehmann, in his particular application of the idea of techno-economic determinism, namely,

> to certain broad areas of social and political content . . . These areas are outstandingly those of the relation of the sexes and of the sentiments attaching to sex and marriage, and the matters of "rank" and status differentiation as they relate at once to the family and its role in the community and to the distribution of power and authority in its more political aspects. (p. 129).

Thus, in his *Origin of the Distinction of Ranks,* Millar traces changes in the "condition" of women, and tries to explain the variations in the respect accorded to women in different epochs. Also, he explores the circumstances of the limitation of the authority of the father in the family, of the tribal chief, of the Sovereign, and of the master over his servants. As an ardent Whig, he was concerned with limiting the encroachment of governmental authority in the society of his own day, and much of his more abstract analysis had this very immediate political goal. When Millar discussed "ranks," therefore, he was interested only in differences of power and authority, and not in some other forms of ranking conceived to be important by modern sociologists, i.e., the differential evaluation of individuals in a society.

If Millar is of interest as a forerunner of modern sociology, it is because, like many of his eighteenth century contemporaries, he had a "peculiar awareness of the essential societal nature of man's very existence" (p. 104), not because the laws of "human nature" he discovered bear much resemblance to the patterns of social behavior studied by sociologists to-

day. Millar's long neglect is explained by Lehmann by certain deficiencies in his work and by the fact that his work was not in harmony with the religious and political conservatism of the nineteenth century. But it is still not quite clear why Millar received less attention than his Scottish contemporaries.

ELINOR G. BARBER

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Genesis and Structure of Society. By GIOVANNI GENTILE. Translated by H. S. Harris. Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1960. 228 pp. $4.50.

The Social Philosophy of Giovanni Gentile. By H. S. HARRIS. Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1960. xii, 387 pp. $5.75.

Idealistic moral philosophers engage in speculations concerning the sanctioned patterns of culture to which they attach most value and of which their intellect is coincidentally in part a sensitive product. In spite of their intellectual pretensions, they usually remain deeply mired in the culture from which they spring. If they are given attention, it is often because of their usefulness to entrepreneurs of social power. Like Plato, they usually try to remodel traditional patterns of morality in order to divert social control more into the hands of the persons most worthy to wield it, to wit, such persons as they, themselves. Like Giovanni Gentile, they may fashion abstractions, embroiderings, and hence glorifications of a class's subculture serviceable to the operations of a powerseeker, such as Benito Mussolini. When these idealists live long enough and perceive how they have been used, they become disillusioned and even bitter, as did Gentile.

Harris attempts to lead us through a type of intellectual gymnastics which he seems to think instructive and highly professional, but which I take to be tortured and distorting. He offers these items for our consideration: "Being in too much of a hurry . . . and always too certain that he was right, Gentile was not popular among politicians." He quotes another author who "finally ventured the hesitant judgment that "the actual governing powers of Italy during the Fascist regime and Gentile may never have really understood one another." These items and others like them are given too much weight by Harris as dissociating Gentile from practical Fascism. They scarcely obscure Gentile's mystical reverence for authority, for unity in aspirations, for the person as a function of society, and for society in the person. He contended that the "State is the universal common aspect of the will." He glorified Fascism, the monarchy, the role of Mussolini as Italy's savior, the dignity of war, the need for fighting World War II to the bitter end without surrender, and the services of violence.

In spite of all this, Harris states as his conclusion: "The fact that Gentile was misguided enough to associate himself and his philosophy with a political movement that inclined strongly to this . . . form of barbarism ["the immoral exaltation of power"] should not blind us to his speculative achievement. It would be not merely an injustice to him but a tragic loss for us if a man whose whole life was devoted to the ideal of education as voluntary self-formation were remembered only for an unfortunate remark about the educational use of the blackjack."

In the many ways made clear by Harris's two books, Gentile was an idealistic Fascist before the rise of Fascism; his official connection with Fascism followed Mussolini's recognition of this fact. Gentile gladly seized the chance to become Mussolini's first Minister of Public Instruction "with full powers to reform the school system" along idealistic Fascist lines, those Gentile, himself, had helped to develop and to advocate. When one accepts Gentile as having "an ideal of education as voluntary self-formation," as does Harris, one has to be clear that it is an ideal that does not include "*private judgment* in matters of faith" or apparently in anything else. Rather than ideals for the educative process of developing independence of judgment through experimental participation, through being stimulated to self-education, Gentile saw instruction in terms of this formula: "The consciousness of the master is the infinite moment of the self-consciousness of the pupil."

Little wonder that Harris, as an admirer of Gentile, so grossly misinterprets G. H. Mead as having ideas more than superficially resembling those of Gentile and gives John Dewey the character of being an apostle of conformism, one who—albeit unintentionally—helped "produce a nation of contented television viewers." The *name* of Dewey was and is powerful; we have become very much involved in sitting before TV sets since the rise of Dewey; therefore our TV involvement is because of Dewey's *teachings*! Philosophy need not be so misused.

Gentile himself shrank from the critical impact of observation upon his views and thus asserted that every science is "unable to avoid the dogmatic character which is a necessary consequence of its particularity." He contended that only speculative philosophers of his own stripe are capable of "higher criticism."

The students of Gentile and of that other

powerful idealistic philosopher, Benedetto Croce, still have great power in the university faculties of Italy. Hence, sociology is weak, grows slowly, and mostly takes the forms of dogmatic instruction and small surveys. Only a few determined sociological scientists are attempting to come to grips with significant human problems.

ALFRED MCCLUNG LEE
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Charles Booth: Social Scientist. By T. S. SIMEY and M. B. SIMEY. London: Oxford University Press, 1960. x, 282 pp. 30s.

Those who have delved into the history of modern social science and social reform are well aware of the importance of Charles Booth in both of these fields. Born in Liverpool, of middle-class parents of Unitarian religious affiliation, in 1840, he died at his country home in central England in 1916, having divided his time in his mature years between this country home and London, with frequent business trips to the United States and extended stays on the continent in search of health. Exceptionally successful in business, especially ocean shipping, he was unique among outstanding modern social scientists in that he devoted a great deal of time and energy (in spite of poor health) to social research. His best known work, *Life and Labour of the People in London* (3rd edition, 1902–1903, 17 volumes) was the product of elaborate statistical and other inquiries carried on by him and a number of assistants, including Beatrice Webb, between 1883 and 1903. Booth bore the cost of these elaborate expenses, estimated by the present authors at £33,000, out of his own private funds—another thing which makes him unique among social scientists.

Charles Booth was distinguished from most other social scientists of his time by his tireless effort to "establish the facts" about the subject in which he was interested, which, for his major work, was poverty, and to reduce these facts, so far as possible, to statistical form. His study of the "life and labour" of the people of London led him, eventually, into an investigation of "industry" (occupations) and "religious influences" with the purpose of ascertaining the relations between these and the condition of the working classes. In these latter investigations he was not overly successful; above all, he was not very successful in showing correlations between employment and religious observance, on the one hand, and working-class income and standards of living, on the other. Still, the five volumes on "industry" and the seven volumes on "religious influences" in the final (1902–03) edition of *Life and Labour* were not without value.

In view of the uniqueness and the indisputable influence on later social science inquiry of the pioneer work of Charles Booth, it is a service to social scientists of more recent periods to have this excellent account of his life and work available. The senior author is Charles Booth Professor of Social Science at the University of Liverpool, his chair having been established by the firm of which Charles Booth had been an active member. The present reviewer regrets to have to add that this book is provided with a very inadequate index; for example many names which are mentioned in the text, especially in pertinent footnotes, do not appear at all in the index.

FLOYD N. HOUSE
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Herbert Spencers Einführung in die Soziologie. By LEOPOLD VON WIESE. Köln und Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1960. 32 pp. DM 3.80, paper.

In the present publication, the aged author has returned to a theme to which he had devoted a book in his young years: *Zur Grundlegung der Gesellschaftslehre; eine kritische Untersuchung von Herbert Spencers System der synthetischen Philosophie* (1906). What distinguishes the new discussion of Spencer's social theory from the old is mainly its scope. For what is surveyed now is not Spencer's achievement as a whole, but merely his *Study of Sociology* of 1872. What we get is a chapter-for-chapter précis of this work, interspersed with critical considerations.

In principle, von Wiese asserts, Spencer is still well worth reading. "While I thought over, once again, the penetrating theses of the great philosopher," the author says on his last page, "the conviction grew in me that the realistic clarity and soberness of the Englishman may be of great use, particularly in our own age which is, in many ways, so disorientated." (p. 32). But the text itself proves how far we have moved away from Spencer's whole attitude and approach. His "almost fatalistic devotion to mechanical causality" (p. 8); his onesided assertion that the character of society depends on the character of the individual, and not *vice versa*; his overemphasis on evolution and blindness to the fact of persistence; his scepticism with regard to the possibility of conscious social reform; his near-identification of sociology with biology, and, what is more, a kind of biology which the biologists have given up, are all features which we can no longer accept.

True, there is a Spencer who is still alive and significant—the Spencer who inspired Sumner and thereby acquired lasting influence and importance. But *The Study of Sociology* does not reflect this aspect of his thought, and it is much to be regretted that von Wiese's presentation does not even mention the theory of ego-altruistic sentiments, set forth in Spencer's *Principles of Psychology,* which became the basis of Sumner's folkway concept.

WERNER STARK
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An Introduction to Social Psychiatry. By ALEXANDER H. LEIGHTON. Springfield, Ill.: Charles C Thomas; England: Blackwell Scientific Publications; Canada: Ryerson Press, 1960. x, 110 pp. $4.75.

The ideas contained in this volume were first delivered to a predominantly psychiatric audience as Thomas William Salmon Memorial Lectures. Since these ideas go far beyond one-person models of psychopathology, or even beyond concepts of group therapy and the therapeutic community, it is likely that some controversy ensued. Indeed, because of the emphasis given to psychiatry as an agent of planned social change, the book may also disturb orthodox administrators, public officials, educators, and social scientists. Such consequences were probably intended.

A principal theme of the book is that individual pathology, social processes, group structures, and cultural values are inextricably interrelated. No single contemporary discipline is equipped, conceptually or methodologically, to cope systematically with these complex phenomena. Psychiatry needs social science; social science needs psychiatry; and society, today and tomorrow, needs both. Hence, the broad and endless mandate of "social psychiatry," which has five identifying characteristics: concern for people in numbers (rather than individual cases); sociocultural processes; obligations to groups (and group values); the application of psychiatric knowledge to the functioning of social institutions; and the channeling of social science knowledge into clinical psychiatry.

In the field of action, social psychiatry must be concerned, *inter alia,* with preventive measures at the community levels, and with the "humanizing" of the vast tides of change in underdeveloped countries. Since these problems have both "social" and "clinical" aspects they require social science knowledge of group and cultural process, as well as psychiatry's special knowledge of pathology, motivation, and human beings as "wholes."

As a research discipline, social psychiatry is concerned primarily with social etiology, including longitudinal and epidemiological studies. The potential of both is explored, as are their problems and pitfalls. One intriguing chapter deals with the underlying assumptions of basic research.

To Leighton, the fundamental problem of modern times is change: its rate and direction, and whether or not we are bold enough and wise enough to harness the forces of change in constructive fashion. In this endeavor, the development of social psychiatry as a mode of action and as a research science is indispensable. "The challenge lies in the fact that we do not practice as much as we know, and do not know as much as we could." (p. 86).

This is a provocative book by an eminently qualified scholar. In lucid prose, Leighton touches upon, and illumines, many subtle issues. He combines, in unusual degree, artistic insight, scientific curiosity, philosophic detachment, and humanitarian concern. Few sociologists will agree with all his theses, and many will disagree with most. They should, nevertheless, read this book and ponder it, to their own enrichment as scientists and human beings.

EDMUND H. VOLKART
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People of Cove and Woodlot: Communities from the Viewpoint of Social Psychiatry. By CHARLES C. HUGHES, MARC-ADELARD TREMBLAY, ROBERT N. RAPOPORT, and ALEXANDER H. LEIGHTON. The Stirling County Study of Psychiatric Disorder & Sociocultural Environment, Vol. II. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1960. ix, 574 pp. $10.00.

This is the second of three volumes by Leighton and his associates describing what may be the most comprehensive social psychiatric investigation ever attempted—The Stirling County Study. Five small communities were investigated; they vary both in level of social integration and in the cultural backgrounds of the community members, who are either English or Acadian. In addition, a larger town, "quartered" into sociocultural groups, was also studied. The design provides for relating characteristics of the different communities and of the different cultural groups to the types and frequency of emotional disorders among the community members. The authors maintain that their data reveal a relationship between the level of integration of communities and symptom patterns indicative of psychoneurosis and psychophysiological disorders. They also suggest, but with caution, that there may be an association between psychiatric condition and

the cultural background of community members. Acadians are most likely to manifest personality and sociopathic disorders; the English most often show psychoneurotic and psychophysiological patterns.

The data collected about each of the communities are extensive. Information was obtained about residential mobility, occupational and subsistence patterns, quality of housing, degree of ingroup commitment, religious participation and involvement, childhood experience, and sentiments about the community. The broad array of qualitative and quantitative data is skillfully blended and the contrasting value systems and styles of life in the communities are made most vivid. In several instances, the authors have developed Guttman-type scales from the interview data to measure, for example, religious participation. These scales, as well as many of their interview items, have potential applicability in future community studies. The section on method in the book and the several appendices clearly present the procedures used, and the authors are to be commended for providing the reader with this detailed account.

The book is scholarly and quite literate. Undoubtedly, it will and should be looked to as an example of a truly interdisciplinary project; one which makes use of the frames of reference and methods of psychiatry and of several of the social sciences. The book is so intriguing that it is difficult to maintain a critical perspective in reading it—and here lies the danger. The research must be regarded, at best, as an illustration of potential linkages between sociocultural characteristics and mental disorder, *not* as a test of relationships.

There is first of all the known unreliability and inaccuracy of pyschiatric diagnosis, even among hospitalized patients. Unless Leighton and his associates have devised ways of overcoming this problem, and are going to describe them in the yet unpublished third volume, it is necessary to regard their findings as most tentative on this account.

There is a further reason to stress the tentativeness of the research, namely, the issue, as it is often termed, of the "ecological fallacy." The point is as obvious in this study as in Durkheim's *Suicide,* about which it was first raised. Leighton and his associates are interested in the mental health of *individuals* and not communities. Even if higher rates and more severe types of mental disorders are most prevalent in the "disintegrated" areas, this is not evidence that mental illness is most likely among persons who are economically underprivileged, socially disparaged, and politically powerless. It may be that in areas in which there is a preponderance of individuals with these characteristics, mental illness is concentrated among the more privileged minority of community members. The research procedures used do not take this possibility into account. Consequently, the relationships stated may be true, but they do not follow from the data.

These two criticisms are severe. But they do not negate the intrinsic worth of the study. The potential relationships indicated in the book undoubtedly will provoke much additional research, hopefully more appropriate in method for answering the question of whether or not social and cultural factors are associated with the origin, course, and outcome of psychiatric disorders. Moreover, the final chapter, which is a general discussion of sociocultural processes and psychiatric disorder, probably could not and would not have been written without the research experience reported in the volume. This integration of various segmented approaches is, in particular, recommended. Certainly, the field of social psychiatry has not advanced to the point where only studies of a most definitive nature should be valued.

HOWARD E. FREEMAN
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Tenderness and Technique: Nursing Values in Transition. By GENEVIEVE ROGGE MEYER. Industrial Relations Monograph No. 6. Foreword by BENJAMIN AARON. Los Angeles, Calif.: University of California, Los Angeles Institute of Industrial Relations, 1960. 160 pp. $2.75, paper.

This report of a study of nursing in the Los Angeles area has practical relevance for nursing administration and theoretical significance for social scientists concerned with the development of a profession.

The main sample consists of 217 practicing R.N.'s in medical, surgical, and psychiatric nursing in eight public hospitals stratified by size in the Los Angeles area, and a random sample of 75 public health nurses in the area. Respondents were classified into one of four value types on the basis of their average, stated first-choice preferences for three categories of pictures. Value type I (designated "ministering angel") prefers pictures with nurses shown alone with patients. Type IV ("efficient professional") prefers pictures with nurses shown alone with colleagues. Types II and III (modern integrations) on their first choice both prefer pictures which share the patient with a fellow worker; but on their second choice, Type II prefers the nurse-patient pictures more often than does Type III.

Findings (based largely on Chi-square analysis) indicate that: (1) Type I prefers the older tradition of nursing of twenty years ago, while Type IV prefers the ways of today; (2) Type IV prefers working with doctors more than the other value types do, and least prefers relationships with patients (this seems to be a tautological consequence of the classification procedure); (3) both Types I and II place the patient first and the doctor second; both also express preference for children (which the author conjectures is evidence of their motherliness); and (4) Type IV holds the most favorable views toward supervision and administration. A separate cross-sectional analysis of 313 students shows that collegiate and nursing training programs produce different value types.

The study provides an application of a projective technique using pictures to assess preferences in structuring a work situation. But still to be determined is the reliability and validity of the values imputed to respondents because they choose the pictures they do. Does it necessarily follow that nurses with preference for pictures involving colleague interaction are necessarily "technical," "technical-administrative," *and* "professional efficient" oriented? This range of interpretation also obscures important differences between professional, technical, administrative, and employee roles.

Nevertheless, the author presents a convincing argument that knowledge about incompatibilities within a set of roles (those of general duty nurses) are as essential as knowledge about conflicts between positions (nurse versus doctor or administrator) in understanding the social structure and changing character of work groups. Herein lies a significant theoretical contribution of the study. Also of immediate value particularly to students of social change and to hospital and nursing school administrators is the delineation of the changing value system in nursing.

MARVIN J. TAVES
RONALD G. CORWIN
University of Minnesota

Attitude Organization and Change: An Analysis of Consistency Among Attitude Components. By M. J. ROSENBERG, C. I. HOVLAND, W. J. MCGUIRE, R. P. ABELSON, and J. W. BREHM. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1960. x, 239 pp. No price indicated.

An individual's *behavior* may be viewed as determined by a situation and by the attitudes that he brings to it; attitudes, in turn, may be conceived as having *affective* and *cognitive* components. Ever since McDougall, at least, psychologists have been interested in the conative-cognitive-affective trilogy, but only within the past decade have they made systematic studies of the internal structure of attitudes. The present volume (the third of the "Yale Studies in Attitude and Communication") is the most sophisticated attack to appear between hard covers on this specific problem.

The central concept in terms of which cognitive-affective relationships are handled is *consistency*. Following a short introductory chapter, Rosenberg notes that correlational studies of such relationships, which exist in plenty, support various notions of cognitive-affective congruence. Experimental studies are needed, however, to document the assumption that consistency is the stable state of affairs, the disturbance of which, by a change in either component, induces changes in the other component. That cognitive changes systematically induce affective ones has often been reported; Rosenberg shows, by creating affective changes under hypnosis, that the reverse process can also occur, and that many of the effects are relatively persistent. Several necessary qualifications of the basic assumption are noted, including evidence for individual differences in "tolerance for inconsistency."

In a third chapter, experiments derived from a "syllogistic" model are reported by McGuire; their implications for methods of inducing attitude change are of considerable interest, and the findings support this model of consistency. In Chapter 5 Brehm makes some extensions, via theory and via supporting experiments, of Festinger's theory of dissonance; they have to do with the effects of commitment, and of acceptance of a *fait accompli*. In the final, sixth chapter, the contributions of the preceding chapters are admirably summarized.

But how, one wonders, is *consistency* to be conceptualized? This reviewer found Rosenberg and Abelson's Chapter 4 ("An Analysis of Cognitive Balancing") particularly illuminating and provocative on this point. Their model involves relationships among cognitions about an object that is affectively cathected, having either a positive or a negative sign. These relationships, similarly, are categorized as positive or negative (or null); example of positive relationships are "person A likes person B; means A brings about end B; end A justified means B, etc." Such *pairs* of elements, so related, are regarded as elementary, or unit cognitive structures called *bands*. "Cognitive structures are composed of numbers of bands each of which is connected to the rest by means of a common element shared with at least one other band. These structures may be balanced or unbal-

anced, depending on the bands that make them up. . . . A band is balanced when the relationship between two elements is consistent with their signs." (p. 206). The authors argue, with supporting experimental evidence, that a person who is aware of such inbalance "may attempt to redress the imbalance by changing relations and/or signs, by redefining the elements, or, if all else fails, by stopping thinking." They point out, too, that modes of resolving such imbalance are determined by minimax considerations of potential gain and loss, and not just by the restoration of balance at any cost.

Here is a tough problem: how does the individual confront, simultaneously, his own, intrapersonal demands for perceiving an orderly world with the objective facts about that world and with his feelings about the persons and things in it? As of the early 1960s, some variety of "balance theory," and some doctrine of what constitutes "consistency," seem to be required. The present authors have wrestled with that problem systematically and effectively.

THEODORE M. NEWCOMB
Univerity of Michigan

Decisions, Values and Groups: Vol. 1. Reports from the First Interdisciplinary Conference in the Behavioral Science Division held at the University of New Mexico. Edited by DOROTHY WILLNER. Foreword by C. E. HUTCHINSON. Introduction by ANATOL RAPOPORT. Sponsored by the Air Force Office of Scientific Research. New York; Oxford; London; Paris: Symposium Publications Division, Pergamon Press, 1960. xxix, 348 pp. $12.50.

This collection of papers grew out of an interdisciplinary conference in the summer of 1957 sponsored by the Air Force Office of Scientific Research. The purpose of the conference was "to stimulate thinking and research with respect to fundamental concepts transcending disciplinary boundaries . . ." Publication of this volume has the same purpose as the conference itself, "to indicate the areas in which interdisciplinary research can be friutful and to explore techniques for such research." (p. xxiii).

The volume is divided into five sections: "Mathematical Models in Decision Processes," "Conceptualizations and Designs for Research in Values and Evaluative Processes," "Theoretical Contributions to Small Group Research," "Psychodynamic Patterns of Behavior," and "Special Military Problems." While these titles suggest a diversity of interest, the papers are even more heterogeneous than the section headings indicate, ranging from consideration of "Two Variables Affecting the Message in Communication" through a "Report on the Psycho-social Organization of the Family and Mental Health" to the "Human Parameters of Space." Not only do the participants deal with a wide range of substantive matters, but they also represent a variety of scientific goals and methodological approaches. What results is a medley of programmatic statements, commentaries, experimental reports, survey analyses, and formal theorizing.

Rapoport notes in his introduction, "This volume, being a compendium of research projects in various stages of maturity, pursued largely independently of each other, falls short of presenting a unified picture of each of its topics." While this reviewer would not demand such unified pictures, he would question the contribution of this work "toward establishing logically coherent areas of behavioral science, in which what is most fruitful in traditional departmental methods can be fused and enlivened by new hybrid ideas." (p. xii).

It is difficult to discern interdisciplnary efforts among these papers. With few exceptions (for example, in the work on values in which the researchers do seem to pool their special disciplinary talents in studying the same group of subjects from a variety of perspectives) most of the papers do not advance any hybrid ideas but remain within traditional disciplinary concerns. Nor is much purpose served by putting widely divergent studies pursued independently of each other under the same very general and non-descriptive rubric. Judging from this collection, these conferees lost an important opportunity for developing a behavioral science focus on a core of fundamental problems.

At its best, *Decisions, Values and Groups* provides the reader with reports of a few well-executed, carefully analyzed studies which could as appropriately be journal publications. Otherwise, the papers are hastily put together descriptions of pilot studies where the conception of the problem and/or the analysis of the data are only in the most preliminary form. Statements such as: "From the incomplete examination and analysis of our data . . .," "Analysis is still under way," "The analysis of these pilot studies is not yet complete . . .," abound to the annoyance of this reader. These researchers would have rendered much greater service to their substantive problems had they delayed publication until their ideas and empirical results were in a more advanced stage of maturity.

The Air Force Office of Scientific Research is to be commended to its interest in, and

support of, fundamental research in the behavioral sciences. The 1957 conference undoubtedly produced much interstimulation among the participants, but this volume does not do justice to the conference or its objectives.

BERNARD P. COHEN
Stanford University

The Child and Society: The Process of Socialization. By FREDERICK ELKIN. Short Studies in Sociology. New York: Random House, 1960. 121 pp. $.95, paper.

This short and simple book describes and illustrates in a rudimentary manner the way in which a sociologist orders the subject matter of socialization. As an introduction to the subject, the beginning student should find this book valuable. The sociologist who is looking for new formulations, reformulations, or even a sophisticated statement of old formulations will find this book of little value.

The author begins with a distinctively sociological definition of socialization as "the process by which someone learns the ways of a given society or social group so that he can function within it." We are implicitly reminded that socialization is not an ambiguous residual category but is, rather, a concept which with fair precision "refers to learning the ways of an established and continuing group. . . ."

Chapter two describes what are termed the preconditions for socialization—an ongoing society, biological normality, and "human nature." The social theorist will surely object to so categorizing the latter, defined by Elkin as the ability to empathize with others. Empathic ability is not a part of original nature, but is, in the main, a product of the acquisition of language. Elkin himself recognizes this (though apparently not the contradiction) when he subsequently states that the infant ". . . cannot take the position of others and view himself as an object. . . ." The cases of Anna and Isabel do not, as Elkin suggests, support the view that human nature is a precondition for socialization. What these cases do demonstrate, if anything, is, as Kingsley Davis suggests, that communicative contact is the *core* of socialization.

Chapter three, the heart of the book, is devoted to the process of socialization, discussed principally in symbolic interactionist terms. Here the reader is treated to a clear and concise discussion of social role theory and the relevance of the self concept to an understanding of the learning of socialized behavior. The appendage of psychoanalytic theory and learning theory appears condescending and is, in any event, superfluous.

In chapter four, the family, the school, the peer group, and mass communications are discussed as agencies of socialization. The treatment of the family is regrettably short and superficial and reflects a middle-class conception of parental behavior. The significance of the mass media in human conduct seems to this reader to be overstated. The logician and the hard-boiled empiricist in particular will be baffled by the statement, "How much socializing influence the mass media have is not clear, although undoubtedly it is extensive."

Differential socialization is the subject of chapter five and is discussed in relation to social class, ethnicity, and rural-urban-suburban differences. The concluding four pages of the book make the point that socialization continues throughout life.

In view of the fact that until quite recently social-psychological research has dealt primarily with the measurement and correlation of personal and social attributes, it is not surprising that a book on socialization written in symbolic interactionist terms is able to cite almost nothing in the way of supporting research. Perhaps the major value of this work, apart from pedagogical, will be to make social psychologists more self-conscious of this fact.

ALEXANDER L. CLARK
University of Texas

Search for Security: An Ethno-Psychiatric Study of Rural Ghana. By M. J. FIELD. Northwestern University African Studies No. 5. Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern Univerity Press, 1960. 478 pp. $6.50.

This book is clearly important and exciting but also slightly exasperating. Ethnographic field work in the forest country of Ghana during the thirties, the author says in her Preface, indicated that an understanding of the new shrines among the Ashanti and other Akan peoples required a knowledge of psychiatry. She obtained her medical degree in that discipline and returned in 1955 to Ghana to conduct this study. At the outset, a rapid but satisfactory account is given of the African cultures of the area, with particular attention to witchcraft, magic, and spirit-possession. The author utilized the shrines as her principal source of case material since many of the people who patronize the priests there are suffering from mental disturbances. After summarizing "the troubles and desires of [2,537] ordinary people in a single chapter and thus indicating the normal and also the singularly modern difficulties of Africans, she devotes the remaining two thirds of the book to reporting the case histories of 146

seriously disturbed, in fact largely psychotic men, women, and children.

The book is important and exciting because it provides rich material to test theories in social science and psychiatry. Then Dr. Field often advances sparkling ideas, a few samples of which may be swiftly noted. She suggests that many magical procedures may have been "invented by schizophrenics of sufficiently normal aspect to make their statements acceptable to their fellow-men," and that in the present day the belief in witchcraft is sustained in this area of Africa by people who are seriously depressed or perpetually plagued with delusions of sin and guilt. Among her patients she finds "little or no difference between the manifest content of a dream and the latent content." She shows how the dictum concerning the relation between the "cracking point" and the pressures of the milieu is useful in Africa, especially in connection with the host of diseases prevalent there. For older African women, a precipitating cause of breakdown may sometimes be the entrance of a younger, more attractive wife into the household.

Alas, the study is also exasperating because Dr. Field states that "my case histories must speak for themselves." Evidently she decided to avoid facing theoretical issues in a systematic manner, but happily she has not completely succeeded: each chapter devoted to a psychiatric category begins with a helpful set of generalizations and each case history ends with a "commentary." Only in a footnote attached to the sentence just quoted, however, is there a reference to the problem of determining the "different kinds of healthy mentality among primitive peoples." While she does state that "most of the cases can be classified in commonplace psychiatric terms without any misgiving," the reader cannot be certain whether the general syndrome of each disease as isolated in the West reappears in Africa but with a different cultural content. This reviewer judges from her materials that such is the situation; still she herself is in a better position to make the statement. Then the case histories must often be tantalizingly brief and didactic in the interest of space-saving. Finally, except for a reference to the co-operativeness of the priests in supplying the patients, nothing is said explicitly of psychiatric technique either in diagnosis or treatment. One has the feeling that most of the data were obtained by a straight-forward interview of the patient and his relatives, probably without the help of an interpreter. Sometimes, it appears, amytal and methedrine were used to elicit information. In at least one case (No. 141) no interview occurred; rather the investigator saw a woman "several times walking the roads and recognised from her unkempt appearance and heedless manner that she was mad." These defects may arise from a clinical approach that rather eschews generalizations and assumes that you must eclectically capture what you seek in some sort of catch-as-catch-can way.

In keeping with the book's own quiet modesty, this review must end with a strong assertion that is really an understatement: without jargonistic fanfare Dr. Field has undoubtedly made a major contribution to the problem of culture and personality.

LEONARD W. DOOB

Yale University

Becoming More Civilized: A Psychological Exploration. By LEONARD W. DOOB. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1960. xii, 333 pp. $6.00.

In *Becoming More Civilized* the author, a social psychologist, has attempted to extend his specific observations on the psychology of acculturation among African tribesmen and Jamaican peasants to a set of more general propositions. The two principal questions raised in the book are: (1) why do people in less civilized societies become civilized in certain respects? and (2) what happens to them as they become civilized?

These questions assume that experts can agree upon what is meant by "less civilized" and "more civilized" people. Despite the misgivings with which he undertakes this delicate task, Doob identifies some four attributes of less civilized people which even the most hesitant anthropologist can readily accept. Less civilized persons (in all of these cases, from groups of non-European background) tend to live in small and relatively isolated societies, so that, because of restricted scope, they are likely to operate with a set of expectations concerning themselves, their contemporaries, and their general environment which tends to be confirmed. Second, they have less tendency than more civilized people to question their beliefs or to believe that nature can be controlled or mastered. Custom has a greater tendency to be sacred and knowledge, absolute. Third, in comparison with the more civilized, they tend not to compartmentalize their activities, or in other words their activities tend to be more interrelated than those of more civilized people. And, fourth, their life is relatively simple and less diverse.

In the subsequent exposition the author brings to bear available insights from the psychology of motivation, learning, perception,

and cognition to discriminations between those in a less civilized society who have learned new forms of behavior (changed), are in the process of learning new behavior or alternatives (changing), and those who have not yet learned new behavior (unchanged), as a result of contact with more civilized people (Europeans of varied backgrounds).

The results of the application of these insights are explicated in a series of twenty-seven related (but not compendent) hypotheses. While the available data are admittedly insufficient to test these propositions, the reasoning behind them is a model of clarity. The supporting evidence is all the more impressive, not so much for indicating what can be generally stated with confidence, but for suggesting what we need to know in order to verify even this modest attempt at understanding a compelling problem of theoretical and practical concern.

In a brief review it is impossible to do justice to the care with which evidence is interpreted, methodological problems are specified, and tentative conclusions qualified. The result is something considerably less than definitive or radically new. But it does provide the most systematic attempt to date to formulate significant psychological dimensions of the civilizing process. This is not the whole of the matter—we shall want to make similar efforts at organizing the great mass of accumulating empirical data which bear upon the historical and sociocultural dimensions of acculturative phenomena. Sociologists and anthropologists can be thankful, however, for the thoughful concern which Doob brings to bear upon an important area of mutual theoretical interests.

BERNARD SIEGEL
University of Tokyo

Thinking and Psychotherapy: An Inquiry into the Processes of Communication. By HARLEY C. SHANDS. Foreword by STANLEY COBB. Published for the Commonwealth Fund. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960. xvi, 319 pp. $5.75.

This book is based upon the conviction that psychiatry must become united in theory with neurophysiology and sociology. The author, an internist and psychotherapist, sees these disciplines joined in that they all deal with the processing of coded information.

The object of the book is to illuminate the psychotherapeutic process through discussion of the necessary integration of man's nervous and linguistic systems and the conditions for thinking: a functioning nervous system, a prolonged period of training in a social system with the acquisition of language, and the individual's ability to derive new thinking patterns.

Psychotherapy is viewed primarily as an extension of the socialization process, where the patient with the help of an expert preceptor (the therapist) learns to see himself from the point of view of the other and gains understanding about himself as an instrument in human affairs. The therapist is seen as roughly analogous to an operator who codes for a computer; he aids the patient in rearranging data so that an objective perspective of the patient's social context results.

The frame of reference presented strives to make assertions that are subject to empirical verification, although it is more philosophical than empirical in tone. The author attempts to bring together important ideas in physiology, linguistics, sociology, and psychoanalysis, and there is a consistent logic and clarity of expression throughout. Shands, schooled within the Freudian tradition, goes far in casting off the chains of classical psychoanalytic thinking ("The Freudian System is to a very high degree compatible with intense belief and incompatible with cool and detached skepticism"), but one may wonder if he, at times, continues to cling "unconsciously," perhaps, to the classical dogma. He rarely questions the efficacy of the free association technique compared with alternative approaches, nor considers alternatives that depart greatly from the structure of the classical psychoanalytic model.

Sociologists reading this book may feel that questionable sociological assertions are made without evidence and that the author's acquaintance with sociological thinking and research is limited. Despite its defects, however, *Thinking and Psychotherapy* is a laudable and worthwhile attempt.

DAVID MECHANIC
University of Wisconsin

Delinquent and Neurotic Children: A Comparative Study. By IVY BENNETT. Foreword by EVELYN EMMET. New York: Basic Books, 1960, xii, 532 pp. $10.00.

The 100 children studied here were selected from among 1,000 referrals to three county child guidance clinics in Britain. The fifty "delinquents" were chosen from those diagnosed as either "primary anti-social conduct disorder" or "adolescent disturbance with delinquent tendencies." The fifty neurotics were chosen from those diagnosed as "neurosis" or "primary behaviour disorder with neurotic tendencies." All cases which straddled the delinquent-neurotic distinction were eliminated. The two groups were individually matched on age, sex,

and intelligence. Each group contained thirty boys and twenty girls.

The two groups were compared on some 300 items grouped into the general areas of current adjustment, family and social setting, and developmental and personal history. The findings are presented in tabular form and are generally consistent with the view that delinquency is an "externalized" and neurosis an "internalized" adaptation, e.g., the delinquents' families are more likely to have been unstable, marked by inconsistency in discipline with severe interruptions of parent-child relationships when the child was very young.

While the book constitutes a valuable source of information on these contrasting diagnostic groupings, its purposes seem somewhat confused to this reviewer. Statements by the author indicate three aims: to shed light on the etiology of delinquency, to demonstrate the utility of psychoanalytic theory in explaining delinquency, and to show that clinical data can be verified by statistical methods.

Accomplishment of the first aim is considerably lessened by the lack of a comparison group of "normals." Much more serious, however, is the fact that little systematic attention is paid to the question of the particular type of delinquent being investigated. These are largely (one guesses) individualized delinquents without major involvement in the elaborated "subcultural" delinquency patterns found in other settings in Britain. The book would have profited greatly from a discussion of the larger British delinquency picture so that the reader could place these cases in better perspective. Such a discussion might well have replaced the nearly 250 pages of case histories.

The assessment of psychoanalytic theory is fairly well limited to rather unsystematically derived hypotheses. No concise statement of the theory is made so that the hypotheses have largely the status of suppositions gleaned from the psychoanalytic literature which is well reviewed. The two groups do look pretty much the way psychoanalytic theory (or at least some schools of same) would have it, but this is made more likely by the fact that some appreciable (but unspecified) proportion of the data entered into the diagnostic classification in the first place.

The desire to show that clinical data can be statistically verified is the one aim most nearly accomplished. For this purpose neither the peculiar nature of the sample nor the tautology implicit in the analysis is so serious a fault. We can conclude from the study that when these diagnosticians say a child has a "primary anti-social conduct disorder" as opposed to a neurosis, the distinction is replicable by more formal modes of assessment—at least if doubtful cases are removed.

Some separation of the several purposes of the study might have been desirable since causally oriented, theory-testing research would have required careful distinction between independent and dependent variables while a validity check of the diagnostic procedure might better have been done through some sort of cluster analysis of a large number of case records or even a factor anaylsis which included the diagnosis.

DAVID J. BORDUA
University of Michigan

Oasis and Casbah: Algerian Culture and Personality in Change. By HORACE M. MINER and GEORGE DE VOS. Anthropological Papers, Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, No. 15. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan, 1960. v, 236 pp. $2.50, paper.

This is an attempt to test some hypotheses in culture-personality research. Of concern to the authors is Kardiner's hypothesis that secondary institutions are predictable from a knowledge of basic personality. They "wanted to know whether in this situation of culture change, one could predict which cultural alternatives would be adopted by various individuals" (p. 4), based on knowledge of the culture, and personality theory. Subsidiary aims involved appraising the use of cross-cultural Rorschach data and weighing the extent of postadolescent personality changes in acculturation.

Two groups of Algerians are compared, each having had common origins in a particular oasis, but one group having subsequently moved to Algiers.

An independent analyst predicted which Algerian culture traits would be adopted by particular personality types. Upon evaluation, the predictions are not supported. The authors conclude from this "that factors external to the basic personality structure contribute so much to the determination of specific cultural forms that prediction of the latter becomes impossible on the basis of a knowledge of general behavioral predispositions." (p. 120). Projective reality systems have an "empirical" component, resident in the social structure. The choice of culture traits by various personality types is mediated by knowledge of and beliefs about the social structure. These choices are understood only with reference to the social structure.

A description of Algerian culture and history

of the oasis are presented. This is followed by the analysis of Arab personality from the Rorschach data. The two are combined in the final chapters in an illuminating discussion of the relationships between the two types of data.

Chapters on "Contact and Change" and "The Supernatural" show the mediation of urbanization by personality attributes and the *selective* influence of change on beliefs.

This is a solid contribution to understanding the patterning of personality and the relationship of personality to beliefs in cultural change.

STANLEY BEAN
Harvard University

Lugbara Religion: Ritual and Authority Among An East African People. By JOHN MIDDLETON. Published for the International African Institute. London: Oxford University Press, 1960. xii, 276 pp. $6.10.

Publication of *Lugbara Religion* by the International African Institute contributes significantly to that small but growing corpus of works from which a comparative sociology of religion might, one day, be constructed. In the best, but too often neglected, tradition of Max Gluckman, Clyde Kluckhohn, and Monica Wilson, Middleton demonstrates rather than states the crucial relationship between religious belief and ritual behavior and the wider structure of authority and power.

The Lugbara are peasant cultivators who occupy the region of northwestern Uganda which adjoins both the Congo and the Sudan. They are organized into lineage segments of varying sizes whose heads make sacrifices to deceased ancestors within an elaborate ceremonial complex which is only manifestly concerned with the relationship between the living and their dead kin. The author's task here is to describe and analyze how diverse social, political, and economic conflicts are resolved through the exercise of authority which is maintained and validated primarily by activities in the cult of the dead. Behind the oracles, consecrations, sacrifices, and purifications, the reader perceives the continuous struggle to maintain the power structure within family segment and lineage groups.

Although as many as twenty-five per cent of the adult males may be absent in order to obtain cash for taxes and needs, the author reports that all "but a very small minority" share the traditional religious beliefs and practice the associated rituals. The first section of the book supplies a brief introduction to the economy and social organization of Lugbara society, emphazing the indigenous structure of authority within the lineage segments. The patterns of belief and ritual behavior associated with dead ancestors and their shrines are developed in the next two sections. In the core of the volume, part four, thirty-four case studies carefully document how the men of one lineage group acquire and maintain their authority by manipuating with ritual behavior the cult of the dead. In the concluding section, the place of the ancestors within the broader field of socal relations is chartered.

The author modestly disclaims any intention here to delineate systematically the Lugbara system of theology; nevertheless, in presenting us with a comprehensive analysis of the role of ritual and belief in the conflict for power within the domestic household and lineage segment of an East African people, Middleton supplies us with a valuable resource for the comparative study of the socal foundations of religious behavior.

COUNCILL TAYLOR
University of California, Los Angeles

Rural China: Imperial Control in the Nineteenth Century. By KUNG-CHUAN HSIAO. University of Washington Publications on Asia. Sponsored by the Far Eastern and Russian Institute. Seattle, Wash.: University of Washington Press, 1960. xiv, 783 pp. $9.75.

Either as a backdrop to analyses of the present Communist control over the Mainland Chinese or as a comparative array of materials on rural China appearing over the last century and more, this volume is uniquely valuable.

Including about 25 pages on "Villages, Markets, and Towns," the first half of over 500 pages of text is devoted to the Imperial government's police control, tax collection, famine control, and ideological control. Of the second half, about 100 pages are on the effects of Imperial controls upon the village and the clan, and about 150 on "rural reactions" under such rubrics as land policy, rural decline, Western impact, "good people" versus "weeds," feuds, riots, banditry, rebellions, anti-foreign uprisings (and the role of the gentry and literati in them), and "wars with Western nations." The narrative and analysis thus lead to a Summary and Postscript in which, barely glimpsing the intervening period, the author compares aspects of present Communist control to aspects of previous Imperial control, and the leadership and attitude of the peasants to those of the nineteenth century and before.

The author believes that the Chinese peas-

ants' "political indifference, economic discontent, readiness to follow any who promised change for the better, capacity for spasmodic violence, rendered them particularly suitable material for the Communist revolution. . ." (pp. 512–513). Whether as an implicit thesis or an inductive finding, he holds that the peasants themselves, without gentry and literati leadership, have not and would not have brought about political turnovers, and that in the past revolt by itself has not injected into their minds "an iota of political enthusiasm. . ." (p. 511). Whether this must be fitted into the claims of other students of Chinese society that gentry and literati families have risen out of the sea of the peasantry and again been submerged by it after a few generations, is not clarified. Possibly it may be dealt with in a future study of urban, industrial, and commercial China of the nineteenth and earlier centuries.

MAURICE T. PRICE

Washington, D.C.

The Structure of Science: Problems in the Logic of Scientific Explanation. By ERNEST NAGEL. New York and Burlingame: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1961. xiii, 618 pp. $7.50.

On the assumption that "the distinctive aim of the scientific enterprise is to provide systematic and responsibly supported explanations," an eminent philosopher here undertakes an exposition and analysis of the logical patterns followed in scientific inquiry. Early chapters indicate what is meant by scientific explanation, catalog the varieties of explanations, examine the nature and structure of scientific laws and theories, and—in connection with these tasks—clarify issues concerning such notions as cause, model, and analogy. Four chapters devoted to difficult questions in mechanics, geometry, and relativity and quantum theories follow. The first lesson a social scientist might learn from these materials is that at least some sciences can reach a high state of development without having resolved all doubts about the logical status of their fundamental constructs and premises.

The last five chapters return to matters of more immediate interest to social scientists. Although "reduction of theories" is considered with reference to thermodynamics and mechanics primarily, the important point is made that reducibility and the significance of reduction are relative to the particular stage of development of the theories involved. Nagel's discussion would appear to put a new light on claims that features of social structure can be explained by laws of individual behavior; such claims are at best premature, given the present situation in both psychology and sociology. The chapter on "mechanistic explanation and oganismic biology" develops an argument to show that "the distinguishing features of goal-directed systems can be formulated without invoking purposes and goals as dynamic agents." This conclusion is put to good use in subsequently refuting the claim that explanations of human activities must make reference to subjective states of the actors. This refutation is contained in a chapter on "methodological problems of the social sciences," which likewise disposes of several hoary arguments against the logical possibility of a true science of society. Nagel concludes, for example, that there are "no compelling reasons for the claim that an ethically neutral social science is inherently impossible." In the next chapter it is shown that while the notion of "complexity" may be an inadequate clue to the relative underdevelopment of social science, there are indeed good reasons for the "pervasively statistical character of empirical generalizations in social science" and, consequently, for reliance on specific types of explanations different from those in, say, mechanics. One could wish that Nagel had invested more effort in the examination of how explanations of statistical generalizations are effected. His exposition is based on the Yule-Lazarsfeld analysis of partial association of attributes. Symptomatically, the term "account for" begins to replace "explain" at this point in the discussion. Is there not a difference between the sense in whch Mendelian theory *explains* the proportion of offspring with a given trait and that in which a survey analyst *accounts for* the proportion of democrats in a community?

By contrast, there is little reason to quibble with the discussion of functionalism or with the conclusion that functional analyses do not exemplify "a distinctive theoretical approach in the study of human affairs." (Nagel finds no reason to modify his conclusion in light of the "architectonic system of distinctions" of Talcott Parsons.) The false pretensions of a standpoint called "methodological individualism" are exposed with equal cogency. The argument serves at the same time to bring out the point that there are "no compelling reasons for supposing that only by discovering the changes in the evaluative schema of social groups can we attain a unified explanation of social changes"; indeed, explanations couched in such terms "run the risk of being empirically empty tautologies."

The final chapter on historical inquiry pursues issues closely related to those already mentioned. Among other things, it clarifies the idea of "genetic explanation" and analyzes how such

explanations are contrived for individual actions and aggregative events. No reason is found for denying that historical inquiry uses the same logical structure of concepts as the generalizing sciences. Moreover, while the general thesis of determinism in history cannot be proved or disproved, the principle of determinism remains an indispensable working assumption for historical investigations conducted in the spirit of science, humanistic and moralistic interests in history notwithstanding.

OTIS DUDLEY DUNCAN
University of Chicago

Science and Public Administration. By JAMES L. MCCAMY. University, Ala.: University of Alabama Press, 1960. vi, 218 pp. $3.50.

Science and government, and their growing interdependence, is a subject of increasing interest to the scholarly world. Such institutions as Harvard, MIT, Dartmouth, and the California Institute of Technology are engaged in strengthening their research and teaching programs on science and public policy. Provocative writing is coming from several sources.

A new volume, "Science and Public Administration," by James L. McCamy, professor of Political Science at the University of Wisconsin, is now at hand. Professor McCamy's views were first presented at the annual lectures of the Southern Regional Training Program in Public Administration at the University of Alabama.

That "science cannot remain separate" from administration is the central theme of this urbane little volume. The reasons for the separateness of science and public policy are found by Professor McCamy in the conflict between science and religion; in the "myth" that scientists are different from other men and their methods unique; in the failure of policy-makers to understand the ways and uses of science; and in the lack of appropriate organizational settings for the scientist in the public service.

In reviewing the long association between government and science, the author takes note of the recent proliferation and acceleration which has occurred; the dominance of the military in using science; the emphasis on the applied and the physical sciences to the disadvantage of basic research and the biological and social sciences. He has noted, too, the problems of research by contract and the issue of security in its impact on the scientist and scientific knowledge. From this emerge several generalizations: (1) acceleration in science is much faster than is growth in administrative expertise; (2) the administration of science must be put in the largest setting—it must consider the purpose and future of the nation and the world; (3) a formidable power group of science is excessively dominant in government; and (4) the separation of science and public policy is abetted by inadequate organization and the impact of the science power group.

Professor McCamy's solutions on the administrative front for bringing science into closer association with policy lead him to propose a reorganization of the Presidency which would involve the creation of a number of deputy presidents with substantial delegated authority. It will be interesting to test these ideas against the performance of the current incumbent of the White House who has rejected the deputy president concept.

As for answers via the route of education, many provocative ideas are set forth. In essence, Professor McCamy sees the separateness of science and public policy diminished if we expose students to all the fields of learning—science, mathematics, the humanities, and the social sciences—until the completion of the bachelor's degree.

In the practical situation, the author advises the administrator to trust the scientist for facts; to guard against placing excessive value on the opinions of scientists.

In concluding on a sanguine note, Professor McCamy says "no nation is doing any better at solving this problem of science and public policy than is the United States." One may suggest, however, the value of running scared as well as the dangers of a subtle chauvanism which keeps us from discovering useful lessons abroad.

As is likely to be the case with the lectures of a literate and experienced individual, these are filled with many ideas that could be touched on only lightly. This is a volume replete with stimulating material for the practitioner, student, and teacher.

JOHN D. HONEY
Carnegie Corporation

The Aging American: An Introduction to Social Gerontology and Geriatrics. By MILTON L. BARRON. Foreword by ALFRED MCCLUNG LEE. Crowell's New Sociology Series. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1961. xvii, 269 pp. $5.75.

This book may perhaps be best described as a collection of essays on a variety of important aspects of aging. The field has occupied the attention of its author for several years, and he has a good deal to contribute to our knowledge of the subject. There are useful treatments of the retirement problems of farm owners (few of whom retired according to the study reported); of adjustment to retirement generally;

and of the role of religion in the lives of older people. There is also additional documentation of the quasi-minority status hypothesis which the author advanced some years ago. It is on these topics that Dr. Barron has done considerable research. There are also chapters on the development of gerontology, the problems of older people, employment practices of management, development of behavior norms for older people, the onset and problems of middle age, services for older people in the United States and Europe, and suggestions for research.

Unfortunately, the book cannot be characterized as a well-organized, finished product. A number of examples of lack of rigor and depth will be given. The basic criticism is that, while a great deal of information is presented about the problems and circumstances of older people, there is no real attempt to develop an integrated account of the changes and problems that occur over the second half of the life span. The author states that there are anatomical, physiological, psychological, and social aspects of aging. The first three receive no consideration, although they are highly important determinants of role and behavior in the later years. The subtitle of the book is "An Introduction to Social Gerontology and Geriatrics." The rationale for a new discipline of social gerontology is the need to integrate theory and data from all contributory fields. This is entirely overlooked.

Furthermore, current definitions of social gerontology include recognition of cultural and societal factors in individual aging and systematic consideration of the manner in which the economy, political organization, and other social institutions and structures adapt themselves to the presence of increasing numbers of older people. These matters do not appear to be included in the author's definition, although he does deal with some of their manifestations.

Part IV of the book is entitled "Middle Age: Theory and Research" and includes three chapters. In the first chapter, the onset of middle age is defined solely in terms of experience in obtaining employment, although there is a considerable research literature that identifies a complex of several far more commonly experienced factors. The other two chapters deal with management, labor, and government policies in older worker employment, and with the significance of religion to older persons.

The unusual organization of the book is apparent in other ways. Chapter 12 offers a review of the range of services for older people. Income maintenance programs, however, are described in Chapter 2, for no apparent reason, and employment problems in Chapter 10. There are a number of instances in which the material is out of date. A section on institutional housing facilities, for example, mentions the Cold Spring Institute which was an educational (not a housing) agency and which closed several years ago. The chapter on European programs is based on a trip the author made in 1954. While he reports interesting material, some of it—particularly the comments on the status of research—is no longer valid.

Each chapter is followed by questions for study and by a short reading list. The general bibliography at the end of the book is a good one and is well classified. There is also a list of films and recordings. The index is heavily weighted with names—mainly those of authors cited in the bibliography but not elsewhere in the text. The subject listing fails to include such topics as discrimination, employment, income, and minority group although they are given a great deal of attention in the book.

Despite its deficiencies, *The Aging American* contains material useful as collateral reading for undergraduate courses dealing with the subject.

CLARK TIBBITTS
Department of Health, Education and Welfare

The Open Door College: A Case Study. By BURTON R. CLARK. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1960. xvi, 207 pp. $5.00.

Clark reports the results of an intensive case analysis of a California public junior college. Since about one fourth of all college enrollment is found in junior colleges, it can no longer be doubted that such institutions form a significant dimension to the enterprise of higher education. As a type, Clark's public junior college is described best as an institution in becoming rather than one reflecting a fixed set of characteristics.

The "open door" policy exemplifies the democratic value of opportunity for higher education to all high school graduates as a right, subject to little restriction. A state education code underwrites this policy. The consequence is a two-track curriculum, one leading to the university, the other to a terminal degree and, usually, immediate entry into the work force. The student is granted unrestricted choice in electing a field of study, but student demand is not always reflective of student capabilities, or at least performance, as one third of the students who elect the college transfer curriculum never achieve their goal. In Clark's terms, they are "latent terminals," and they must be mollified or, better, "cooled out," a function performed, Clark believes, better by the junior college than by the four-year institution.

Clark's aim is to contribute to a general

theory of oganization. His unit of analysis is the institution as a totality; but at the very start he must bring into his account the broader, constraining web of school administration which "unifies" fourteen public school grades and involves some 32 grade and high schools as well as an adult education department. Community pressures are shown operating to forestall the expectable demise of the vocational training program. The nearby state college also impinges upon the junior college, especially in its admissions and retention practices: the higher standards at the state college, the more the junior college is inundated with students who can't or fear they can't make the grade at the four year institution. Obviously, the environment of the institution becomes as crucial a matter as the institution itself.

Moving on from the administrative web to the clientele, the students, Clark finds a strain between the terminally-oriented district fathers holding a trade school image, and the transfer-oriented students. The freedom of the students to choose programs operates to shape the organization of the school, leads to the high proportion of transfer-oriented, and eventually to the above-mentioned problem of "cooling out" those prematurely expansive as to their ability to handle further college work.

Administrators, drawn from the school district "think vocationally." Diversity in function and background makes the teaching staff something less than a cohesive professional group. Their heavy teaching load, 18 hours a week minimum, staggering to the mind of the university professor, is differentially evaluated by those who have come into junior college teaching out of public schools and who know that the colleagues left behind may well be saddled with almost twice as many "contact hours." A dozen or more administrative rules for instructors clearly indicate the public school frame of reference.

Clark's final chapters are somewhat more analytical and interpretative. It becomes even clearer in them how sharp is the contrast between a junior college of this type and the four-year institution. There is no community of scholars, little professional writing, and practically no research; in fact, while there is a teaching staff, it would be difficult to hold that a faculty exists.

Without selectivity of students, Clark shows, no distinct social base and consequently no distinct image or identity can be achieved. The result is a "mass college," a service institution operating with less than the best educational materials, but serving distinctly those who otherwise would never have had the opportunity to go to college. Whether such function can be performed at something less than the present cost to college teaching looms up as a professional problem of first order magnitude.

ROBERT W. HABENSTEIN
University of Missouri

Graduate Education in the United States. By BERNARD BERELSON. New York: Toronto; London: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1960. vi, 346 pp. $6.95.

In another fifteen years, this country will celebrate, or mourn, a century of graduate education. By the time of the centennial, the Big Problems will have become bigger and the debates on graduate work even more raucous than now. But after eighty-five years, we know amazingly little about this highest sector of the educational enterprise, with elementary knowledge often escaping us and sentiment little conditioned by facts. Our education about graduate education has had to come from limited histories, the reflections of retired administrators, and angry blasts from those who see the graduate school as a devil growing ever more monstrous—and, of course, the personal observation and experience that make experts of us all. Berelson improves on this situation with a wide-ranging and systematic study. Working largely from the questionnaire responses of such participants as graduate deans and graduate faculty, Berelson maps many features of this realm, enabling him who would read to proceed a fair distance down the road of enlightenment.

Berelson reports briefly the history of American graduate education, surveys the current scene under the rubrics of purposes, institutions, students, and programs, estimates the future, and offers recommendations. This is not a generalizing study for sociology; it is not used to construct a theory or to depict graduate education as a type of institution. It is a general educational assessment informed by a sociological hard-headedness. Berelson set out to review the state of American graduate education in a way that would keep "actionable themes" in the center of attention (p. 1). Accordingly, the study organizes the data to confront issues: Does the graduate school prepare adequately for teaching or ruin potential teachers by overemphasizing research? Will the graduate school prepare enough teachers in the next fifteen years? Does doctoral study take too long? In each case, we are given some information and Berelson's opinion of how the findings bear on the issues currently under debate.

What is his assessment? Broadly, graduate education is successful and on the right track. The data are used to defend the graduate school

against the critics, from William James to Jacques Barzun and Earl McGrath. Some of this defense is very effective. Example 1: Berelson's review of the impending catastrophic shortage of college teachers suggests not all is lost and, indeed, that some souls have been playing fast and loose in this numbers game. Example 2: doctoral study in the arts and sciences, on the average (median) takes 7 years from bachelor's to doctor's degree, 5 years from start to finish of graduate work, 3½ years in actual time at work. Here is an instance of data knocking sentiment in the head: "the norm proposed by many critics is almost exactly what it now *does take*, in full-time equivalence." (p. 162). The answer to shortening the duration of doctoral study lies primarily in financial aid that allows full-time study.

Berelson's numerous conclusions and recommendations will start as many arguments as they end. For me, the book does not adequately face up to the stress occasioned in the American university by the coupling of graduate and undergraduate education. The essential character of the university increasingly lies in the graduate school and the professional program—and this is precisely the rub for the undergraduate work, especially for liberal education which must take place at this lower level if it is attempted at all. Berelson and the critics of the graduate school fight over whether the Ph.D. recipient is adequately prepared for college teaching. Of greater weight in determining the orientation and vitality of the college-within-the-university are the norms and incentives which tell the university man that teaching undergraduates is an unrewarding chore. The critics are therefore not so far wrong when they cry that in the rise of the graduate school liberal education has been the loser. This connection is bypassed when the impact of the graduate realm on the other major sector of the university is not considered.

But Berelson's over-all perspective is rewarding and his critique of a variety of issues informed and cogent. There is less excuse now for ignorance about our own house.

BURTON R. CLARK
University of California, Berkeley

Homicide in an Urban Community. By ROBERT C. BENSING and OLIVER SCHROEDER, JR. Introductory section by HONORABLE PERRY B. JACKSON. Springfield, Ill.: Charles C Thomas; Oxford, England: Blackwell Scientific Publications, Ltd.; Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1960. xii, 193 pp. $8.75.

Two law professors at Western Reserve University here report a study of 662 homicides committed in Cuyahoga County (Greater Cleveland) during a seven-year period. The price probably reflects the effective job of printing the many graphs, charts, pictures, maps, and tables.

The first part, "Legal Aspects of Urban Homicide," is mainly statistical description. The detailed treatment of the disposition of felonious homicides should interest students of criminal justice, at least legal strategists in Cleveland. The incidence and disposition of homicides is related to race, sex, and age. Then come chapters on types of conflicts involved, justifiable homicides, methods of killing, and alcohol statistics.

The part on "Social Aspects of Urban Homicide," is an ecological effort. Homicide rates are related to several indicators of life conditions in 42 Social Planning Areas. The familiar pattern for total crime of a high concentration in areas of marked social disorganization is demonstrated convincingly here for felonious homicides. Despite their warnings against single-factorism and against assuming causation from association, the authors are finally tempted into an incautious conclusion and a cliché about social action (pp. 184–85).

Racial comparisons appear in both parts of the book. Negroes account for one fourth of the city's population, but three fourths of the persons charged with felonious homicide. Eschewing a racialistic interpretation, the investigators say that high Negro rates are due to their concentration in undesirable areas. Finding small Negro-white differences in the disposition of cases, they conclude there is no racial discrimination in the legal treatment.

This is a painstaking empirical effort, but it is long on descriptive facts and short on research design and ideas. It will have some value for the ecology of crime but little for a sociology of law. Sociological collaborators could have helped to make this research more profitable, both for themselves and for the lawyers.

F. JAMES DAVIS
Hamline University

Army Life in a Black Regiment. By THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON. Introduction by HOWARD MUNFORD JONES. East Lansing, Mich.: Michigan State University Press, 1960. xvii, 235 pp. $4.50.

Higginson served a twofold purpose in penning *Army Life in a Black Regiment.* The book is a significant document that contributes toward an understanding of the Negro in uniform during the Civil War, and it is also an example of superior literary craftsmanship. The author, Harvard graduate of 1841 and "victim of a

liberal education," succeeded in making *Black Regiment* (1870) as well as *Cheerful Yesterdays* (1898) masterpieces of distinguished prose. He found the Confederacy's southeastern fringes an enchanting place as he described camp life, garrison duty, and raiding expeditions up the St. Marys, the St. Johns, and the Edisto. With literary allusions drawn from masters of other times and places, his work stands in sharp contrast with ordinary regimental histories.

As a Civil War document, combining diary and reminiscence with happly effect, *Black Regiment* is sociological as well as historical. Its "modern meaning" is apparent in the desegregation experiment of Negro soldiers commanded by white officers and of black and white regiments in cooperative enterprises. Thrilled with the "melodies and strange antics from this mysterious race of grown-up children," Higginson preserved folk art by recording their spirituals. His evaluation of the Negro as a soldier may be colored by his experience as an uncompromising abolitionist who in wartime must justify his faith in the race. Repeated emphasis on "docility" contravenes a view of some present-day writers, but they may agree that Negro soldiers were courageous, reliable, resourceful, and adventurous. Despite low chastity standards, they possessed a religious fervor that made the regiment "a gospel army." Their *esprit de corps* was strengthened because, unlike white soldiers and Northern free Negroes, they must "fight it out or be re-enslaved." While Higginson's utopian account cannot be accepted at face value, his sympathy and idealism provide a useful antidote to the prejudicial records of less understanding men.

WENDELL H. STEPHENSON
University of Oregon

The Protestant Search for Political Realism, 1919–1941. By DONALD B. MEYER. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1960. x, 482 pp. $6.75.

How do religious systems accommodate to changes that occur in the economic and political systems in a society? What effect do these changes in the larger society have on the theological beliefs, the ritual expressions, and the social ethics of religious systems?

Meyer focuses attention on these questions by studying a minority of Protestant ministers from many denominations who were highly conscious of economic and political developments between World War I and World War II in the United States. However, he attempts to study religion itself, not the politics of these ministers or their view of the relationship between religion and politics. Meyer views his study as "the record of a crisis in religion itself," (p. 2) for a movement that started as a religious criticism of society and ended as a criticism of religion itself.

Reinhold Niebuhr was the charismatic clergy leader in the period reviewed. His thinking had shifted from that of a follower of Walter Rauschenbusch—who had, prior to his death in 1919, raised many of the questions of concern to the Protestant minister, to a Rauschenbusch critic, to an articulator of a new theological interpretation of Protestantism.

In making the transition, Niebuhr felt that "if good men wished to help create a better world, they would have to support methods they themselves might not, as good men, otherwise choose." (p. 229). When Niebuhr rediscovered religion through neo-orthodox theology, he tried to participate in a "dialectic, where religion and politics criticized each other." (p. 268). He concluded that "adequate spiritual guidance can come only through a more radical political orientation and more conservative religious convictions than are comprehended in the culture of our era." (p. 266).

This book is of interest to sociologists for three reasons: First, it is a case study in the sociology of conflict. Second, it reminds us that when religion is to be analyzed from the perspective of change, the data available to the sociologist are largely documentary materials that are research contributions from biblical scholars, theologians, and church historians. Third, the sociologist is interested in the function of his discipline in relation to policy research. Meyer notes that the Institute of Social and Religious Research was founded in 1921 to bring the methods of social science to bear on religious and socio-religious problems. According to Meyer, "an orgy of fact-finding followed. . . . Yet little if any of the data opened up any of the areas important to the social passion." (pp. 113–114).

SAMUEL W. BLIZZARD
Princeton Theological Seminary

The Preindustrial City: Past and Present. By GIDEON SJOBERG. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960. xii, 353 pp. $6.75.

This book re-explores the field first systematically opened by Max Weber's study of the city. Professor Sjoberg's purpose is to "describe and analyze the structure of the city, both in historical societies and in surviving literate nonindustrial orders, before its transformation through industrialization." In approaching this task, he has escaped from the tendency of Park, Burgess, and Wirth to over-generalize the particular form of the city found in contemporary

American metropolises, and to read back into other cultures and other epochs the special phenomena of our own time. To overcome this parochialism, Sjoberg draws somewhat too freely on very distant and disparate examples, from remote parts of the world, not subject to close verification or control. This is a serious disadvantage. But the gain in perspective and the correction of a too narrow focus will in the end possibly offset the weaknesses of this method, if—as one must hope—it leads to a more thorough study of non-Western urban areas.

This is a sociological, not a topological study of the city: the work that will do sufficient justice to both aspects has still, unfortunately, to be written. *The Preindustrial City* deals with the beginnings of the city; with its dissemination and development; and with the dominant features of its sociological, economic, political, religious, and domestic structure. But the lack of topological reference results in a description of certain characteristics as "urban" that apply equally to the rural environment of the same society. Happily, Sjoberg has drawn on a wide variety of sources, as his bibliographies bear evidence; and in many areas he has valuable contributions to make, which complement the work done by Weber in the same general field. No student of cities can read this work without profit, though it is far from being a definitive study.

Perhaps the main handicap that this work labors under is that it is based on assumptions that have not been seriously examined, beginning with Sjoberg's basic belief that there is a radical discontinuity between the preindustrial and the postindustrial city. As a result, he not merely minimizes and plays down the data that reveal continuities, but he even somewhat idealizes the departures that industrialism has introduced by overlooking the many features in the class structure and power monopoly of present-day metropolises that link them with the earliest forms of the city and repeat their aberrations. The very word, industrial, is used by Sjoberg in a special, almost eulogistic, sense: it excludes the urban organization of industry in earlier cultures even though they anticipated many features of current industrialism, such as mass production for profit, the use of extra organic forms of power (watermills and windmills), and rationalization (the medieval Venetian Arsenal).

To make matters worse, Sjoberg uses another term with long established connotations that may not be lightly erased, namely, "feudal," to describe the preindustrial city itself. This is a particularly grievous idiosyncrasy, because it conceals the original nature of kingship in the founding of cities that displaced tribal, communal, and feudal relationships; and because it fails equally to do justice to the new constituent in the Hellenic or Medieval European city, the escape from feudal fixity and stratification, through contract and voluntary association. But despite these structural defects, this book has many virtues; not least, because, though it neglects the influence of war, it is almost the first to do justice to the formative role of religion.

LEWIS MUMFORD
University of Pennsylvania

The Charities of London, 1480–1660: The Aspirations and the Achievements of the Urban Society. By W. K. JORDAN. New York: Russell Sage Foundation; London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1960. 463 pp. $6.00.

Those sociologists who entertain lingering doubts as to the applicability of quantitative analysis to the evidence garnered by historical research will find reassurance in W. K. Jordan's magisterial study of English philanthropy. Based upon statistics that were compiled from data extracted from many thousands of wills as well as from a multitude of local records, it delineates the patterns of giving that prevailed during the crucial transition from medieval to modern society. But it provides much more than a recapitulation of empirical evidence. It identifies the shifts of values that altered the patterns of giving; it demonstrates how changes in those patterns affected social institutions.

The first volume, *English Philanthropy, 1480–1660,* which appeared in 1959, describes the methodology of the study and sets forth its general conclusions. The second volume, *The Charities of London, 1480–1660,* examines the data drawn from the metropolitan area and presents a thorough explication of all the major aspects of their significance. A third volume will subject the evidence from a selected group of rural counties to similar treatment.

The data drawn from the metropolitan area indicate the enormous generosity of the mercantile elite. They likewise reveal the extent to which increasingly secular values endowed that class with a new sense of communal responsibility, a desire to extirpate poverty and ignorance, and a vision of a better society. This reformist attitude inspired a host of benefactions. Those who possessed it gave lavishly for the relief of the poor, for experiments in social rehabilitation, for the establishment of schools. The scope of their social concern was national rather than local, hence a very considerable

proportion of their benefactions were given outside the London area. Since its focus was primarily on the future rather than on the present, they largely discarded the medieval practice of casual almsgiving and evolved the endowment trust as an effective device for transforming capital sums, the commonest sort of charitable donative, into enduring institutions.

Specialists will query details of some of these findings, and even the means by which they were ascertained. But on the whole the study appears to be as praiseworthy for the competence of its execution as it is for the amplitude of its design.

J. JEAN HECHT

New York City

The Human Use of the Earth. By PHILIP L. WAGNER. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1960. xvi, 270 pp. $6.00.

This is a rare, indeed unique, work: a tightly written exercise in logic presenting an uncommon ordering of much common knowledge. This volume has resulted from the fusion of the ideas of two significant schools of American geography—at Chicago and at California, Berkeley—which could only have resulted from personal experience at both institutions. Dr. Wagner, a product of Berkeley who began teaching at Chicago, has distilled and merged the best of both—the concern for the cultural historical with an anthropological slant integrated with the contemporary functional-ecological with an economic emphasis. The result is a new and valuable synthesis of the task of human geographers.

The Human Use of the Earth is strikingly unlike any existing book. Its clarity and orderly presentation create an impression of simplicity. Not unless one also follows the extensive bibliographic notes (pp. 239–269) would he fully realize the tremendous scope of reading and thought that has been here condensed for painless reading. Scarcely any other geographer of his age group has read so widely as has Wagner in so many languages (Russian, Polish, German, Dutch, French, Spanish, Italian, English) in such diverse fields as animal ecology, anthropology, culture history, economics, linguistics, and the behavioral sciences.

The volume's purpose (p. 5) is to present "an interpretation of man's use of the earth as the orderly function of technical systems which interact with nature under definite limiting conditions." It suggests (p. vii) "how different human cultures and social arrangements express themselves in artificial features of landscape, and how these man-made installations affect the life conditions of human individuals and the natural features of the earth." The argument is carried in eight chapters: "Conditions of Human Life," "Man's Place in the World," "Human Societies as Geographic Forms," "The Economic Bond," "The Means of Production," "Artificial Environments," "Ways of Livelihood," and "The Commercial Environment."

The book will be especially helpful to all social scientists curious about what human geographers are "up to." The outline of the works of man—resource sites, routes of circulation, manufacturing plants, cultivated lands, service centers, and settlements—and the typology of livelihood forms (Fig. 6, p. 58) probably will be widely copied.

WILLIAM L. THOMAS, JR.

University of California, Riverside

A Social Geography of Belfast. By EMRYS JONES. London; New York; Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1960. xiv, 299 pp. $5.60.

The 90 maps, diagrams, and photographs, as compared with 20-odd textual statistical tabulations included in this handsome volume reflect the author's reliance on cartographic techniques in analyzing the areal expansion and differentiation of Belfast from a garrison town of the early 1600's to a city of 444,000 in 1951. Topics over which the study ranges are innumerable: reclamation of the foreshore of Belfast Lough, spanning three centuries; rise of the ship-building industry from the establishment of Ritchie's shipyard in 1792; present distribution of "open space" and the "greenbelt" concept; location of public institutions; traffic congestion near the city core and recent proposals for its alleviation; place of birth of Belfast residents over the last hundred years; fertility by religion and socio-economic status; residential segregation of Roman Catholics; 19th century living conditions in industrial areas, including floor plans and rentals of dwellings, sanitary facilities, and street patterns; current areal variation in atmospheric pollution.

In addition to compiling a wealth of descriptive material, Jones has undertaken the delimitation of "urban landscape" and "social" regions, examined the spatial coincidence of the two types of region, and explored the relationship of the regional pattern to theories of city growth. Age and structural-type of dwellings and presence or absence of scattered retail outlets distinguish the urban-landscape regions of residential Belfast, while social regions are based on population-density and socio-economic-status criteria. From a comparison of "regional" maps, Jones concludes that "The

correlation between social regions and landscape regions is close and obvious . . ." (p. 204). To the reviewer, the most striking similarity is the coincidence of new, single-family home areas and high status-low density areas, a far from perfect, but hardly surprising, association. The "theories of growth" considered are those of Burgess, Hoyt, and Firey, "whose theory states simply that there is no such thing as an ideal pattern which can be applied to all cities." (p. 273). Jones invokes "social values" to account for the "unique" aspects of the city pattern and, moreover, proposes that the retail business core, the keystone of the Burgess scheme, "is the rational adaptation which Firey classifies as the result of 'interests'" (p. 274), and that "social values have explained the origin of sectors" (p. 276), identified with Hoyt. The expansion of Belfast was into ". . . surrounding land . . . already differentiated into various types of land use and . . . invested with social values . . ." (p. 280) which markedly influenced subsequent development.

It is unfortunate that Jones enters the morass of zones and sectors, ideal types and social values, for observations scattered through the volume suggest a clearer understanding of the city's developmental pattern. In discussing the city core, he notes: "The accommodation of new and expanding functions was influenced, and often stifled, by pre-existing conditions." (p. 112). With regard to the "industrial west" of Belfast, he points out: "Even when spinning and weaving were home crafts, bleaching had found a favoured spot on these western slopes, where the proximity of capital in Belfast was as important as the proximity of water. The introduction of power machinery in the cotton industry again tied textiles to these streams, and . . . when steam replaced water power, the pattern of distribution was already fixed." (p. 76).

The time span and diversity of subject matter treated by Jones tend to compensate for the lack of rigorous analysis and systematic perspective. Urban sociologists, whatever their preconceptions, should be stimulated by the fund of facts though they may well be disappointed at the synthesis thereof.

BEVERLY DUNCAN

University of Chicago

Man, Mind and Land: A Theory of Resource Use. By WALTER FIREY. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960. 256 pp. $6.00.

Our understanding of man-resource relations is curiously vague and diffuse, despite the obvious importance of the subject. Perhaps this is inherent in the concept of "resource" which is relative both culturally and historically—iron was not a resource for the pre-Columbian Indians nor was uranium for 19th century Americans. But the problem of relativity of meaning would surely be surmountable, except for the fact that the subject matter impinges on so many different conventional fields of knowledge, including economics, anthropology, sociology, biology, and all of the technologies. Efforts to develop a unified approach under some such label as "conservation" cannot, I think, really be called successful. We have university departments and colleges, governmental agencies, and an unending array of books—but the subject, at least to an outsider, still looks vague and diffuse.

Firey has addressed himself to this problem and has attempted, in *Man, Mind and Land,* to introduce logical analysis and rigor into the chaos. He is particularly trying to merge the ecological, ethnological, and economic points of view toward resource phenomena, and he begins by summarizing the "frames of reference" or "proto-theories" of these three approaches. Implicitly, he is dealing always with "renewable resources" and especially with argricultural practices, but this leaves him with a large enough area for analysis.

"If resource plans and policies are to be anything more than opportunistic ventures, if they are to cohere with other objectives of government, they must have some theoretical rationale," Firey notes; and most of his book is devoted to developing such a rationale. He is concerned with relations among the ecological, ethnological, and economic optima. To illuminate these, he analyzes in some detail three different resource complexes: the hoe cultivation of the Tiv people of Nigeria, the slash-and-burn agriculture of northern Nigeria, and the open field farming complex of the medieval English Midlands. A fourth case history, that of contemporary Texas irrigation practices, is used later in the book.

With this factual background, the author proceeds to a logical analysis of "The Social Dynamics of a Resource Complex," and of the development, use, and conservation of resources. Throughout he uses great care in the definition of terms and in the statement and manipulation of propositions. Anyone working through the book is bound to get new insights into the problems of man's relations with his environment. It may well be that Firey has given us a valuable way of starting to introduce order into the resource chaos, but this can hardly

be judged without further testing of the logical analysis. The end result, however, is hardly a blueprint for the planner. Firey concludes that the ecological, ethnological, and economic optima "can never be simultaneously achieved in real life. . . . The wise planner will use them as canons of what ought to be but never can be. . . . For in his own practical way he knows that man is both a destroyer and a creator of natural resources and is unlikely ever to be otherwise."

MARSTON BATES
University of Michigan

Community Structure and Change. By LOWRY NELSON, CHARLES E. RAMSEY, and COOLIE VERNER. New York: Macmillan, 1960, xiii, 464 pp. $6.50.

In this book the authors have attempted to provide a theoretical basis for community analysis and to demonstrate its application to community development. It is their hope that the book will prove useful to community leaders, professional community workers, and students in college courses. To accomplish this they have employed a wide range of theoretical concepts, commonly used in the study of social structures, which they have applied to community problems. The book is divided into four parts: "The Community and Its Setting," under which the influence of location, size, and demographic factors on the community are discussed; "Dimensions of the Community," which covers the value system and its functions, communication and public opinion, social stratification, power, leadership, and age and community structure; "Elements of the Community," which includes consideration of informal groups, formal organizations, major social institutions, and health organizations; "Community Change," which treats social change in the community, community development, and the future of the community.

The book is clearly written and covers a wide range of the theoretical and research literature on social structure and related topics. Much of this conceptual and theoretical material is not ordinarily found in a textbook on the community. This is probably due to the fact that the authors have tried to provide an understanding of sociological concepts to the non-sociologists who may be interested in community phenomena. However, at times the community focus seems to be lost in the elaboration and explication of the basic concepts and theories. In all fairness it should be pointed out that the application of the theoretical materials to community development is not extensive; those who seek a book on the detailed procedures of doing community organization work should look elsewhere. As a textbook for a course on community analysis it should prove to be quite useful—especially for courses which recruit a large proportion of their students from other disciplines than sociology.

WILLIAM H. SEWELL
University of Wisconsin

Ecological Differentiation of Habits and Attitudes. By HARALD SWEDNER. Lund Studies in Sociology. Lund, Sweden: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1960. xv, 333, cxviii pp. 42 kn.

The existence of rural-urban differences in behavior and attitudes has been well documented. Recent research has increasingly focused on comparison of the behavior and attitudes of suburban residents with those of persons living in the larger central cities. Swedner's study focuses on quite a different problem. It attempts to analyze a small Swedish town of 13,000 and its hinterland in a manner similar to that employed in the investigation of the ecological differentiation of larger urban areas. Focusing on differences both between the town and its hinterland and within the rural parts of the hinterland, Swedner proposes to ascertain the extent to which ecological differences within this particular type of environment continue to influence the development of habits and attitudes. Although the results are not surprising, they do suggest the continued usefulness of the rural-urban variable.

In the first part of the volume, Swedner utilizes data from official statistics to present an extensive and detailed demographic and ecological description of the area centering on the town of Hässleholm. Within the context of the ecological differences ascertained by this analysis, the second part of the volume is devoted to an evaluation of two major sets of data. A field survey, employing a 918 question interview schedule, gathered information on the habits and attitudes of a stratified sample of 802 married workers, farmers, and their wives. In addition, intelligence scores and attitude data were collected from 1,919 school children born in 1944 and 1945 who lived in the area on April 1, 1957.

In varying degrees, persons living in the various ecological areas were found to differ in terms of the three major sets of characteristics into which habits and attitudes were classified: (1) "personality-loaded traits," such as religious habits, adherence to traditional values, and the attitude toward rural occupations; (2) "cost-

related traits," such as visiting frequency for movies and feeling of isolation of living place; and (3) "environment-related traits," such as attitudes toward rural living and job satisfaction. Most of the differences were in the expected direction. To cite just a few, worker families in the hinterland displayed greater adherence to traditional values, expressed stronger feelings of isolation, and adhered more strongly to religious habits and attitudes. Extending the study of ecological differences to comparisons of the habits and attitudes held by members of different occupational groups, Swedner showed that the ecological and occupational factors often operated in the same direction, and thus reinforced each other. On the whole, the results of the study of school children support those emanating from the study of workers and farmers.

Throughout the methodological and substantive presentations, one is impressed by the massive amount of field work and analysis that went into this study and the great extremes to which the author has gone to inform the reader of his methods of data collection and analysis. Moreover, Swedner is extremely careful to familiarize the reader with the limitations of the study. In fact, he is overly cautious in this respect, and at times the volume would have benefited if some of the details were omitted or relegated to a methodological appendix. We look forward to seeing additional publications in the Lund Studies in Sociology of which this volume is the second, and hope that the author himself will have the opportunity to extend his investigation to other areas of Sweden and to other types of environments.

SIDNEY GOLDSTEIN
Brown University

Glasgow Limited: A Case-Study in Industrial War and Peace. By T. T. PATERSON. Social and Economic Studies No. 7 of the Department of Social and Economic Research, University of Glasgow. London; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1960. x, 243 pp. $6.00.

This book is a case study of labor-management relations in an organized machine tool plant of 300 workers located in a working-class area of Glasgow. The situation studied consisted of a dispute over an incentive system which took place within a five-year period between 1949 and 1954, during which time relationships between workers, union officials, foremen, and plant management drifted through various stages of conflict, antagonism, and reluctant cooperation, until the source of the difficulty was ultimately discovered and a solution constructed.

Data for the study were secured through personal interviews, observation, and perusal of company records and union and company correspondence files. The study is well documented and the presentation carefully organized. The author is a mature scholar with sympathetic understanding of labor and management problems. He brings both experience and insight to his analysis of the situation.

Readers will have mixed feelings about the structure of the book. The factual historical narrative, presented without interpretation, is separated from the analytical portion of the study by a voluminous section consisting of statistical material on absenteeism, accidents, spoilage, sickness, turnover, and production. The correlations, reported in tabular form in this middle section, give strong support to the interdependence of production and congenial labor-management relations with traditional indices of employee morale. These statistics do not contribute very much to the analytical and interpretative chapters which follow. In fact, in this reviewer's opinion, a closer integration of factual narrative and analysis would have provided the reader with a better grasp of the human factors involved.

In order to protect the anonymity of the company and the personalities in the case, the author presents an artificial picture of plant jobs, processes, and organization. Consequently, the reader has considerable difficulty in visualizing the actual physical setting within which the action takes place, and the more intricate facts and importance of the crew number and size and modifications of the incentive system are never fully appreciated.

The anthropological description of the working-class population which lives in proximity to the factory is of interest, but its relevance to any subsequent analysis of the situation is not clear. The professional reader would have found labor market, product market, and financial data of more value. Brief statements regarding these factors in the introduction are insufficient to describe the economic trends which influence labor-management relations.

The author does present a thoughtful and occasionally stimulating interpretation of human behavior in a complex labor-management situation.

JOHN W. MCCONNELL
New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations
Cornell University

Trade Unions and the Labour Party Since 1945. By MARTIN HARRISON. Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press, 1960. 360 pp. $4.95.

The alliance of trade unions, consumer cooperatives, and Labour Party which is known as the British "Labour Movement" is the subject of many myths. "The unions control the Party" and "the Party controls the unions" are equally common, equally confident assertions. At a time when the Movement faces the crises of adaptation to changing social structure and of response to new national political demands, it is good to get many of the essential facts about the relations of unions and Party in the thoughtful, well-documented, pioneering work of Martin Harrison of Nuffield College, Oxford.

By digging and ingenious deduction, Harrison shows the extent to which the unions "pay the piper," and the many ways in which, while financing a major share of Party activities at various levels, they still pay less than "their share." Examining politics at the local union level (the branch), he finds that "apathy afflicts the unions as heavily as other voluntary organizations," but that there is "little evidence that it has been increasing." Do national unions' political policies represent the membership? Not badly, he finds, but evaluation must be as untidy as the notion of "representation" is unclear, for the unions see industrial action as their real business and see general political action as of only peripheral concern.

Do those who pay most of the piper's charges "call the tune"? (Both phrases are Harrison's.) No, but they have a sure veto power on matters that interest them most directly. Harrison's research into union voting and Party Conference decisions disposes of the stereotype of solid, leftish constituency parties regularly aligned against, and overwhelmed by, the block votes of big, right-wing unions. Issues that divide the Party divide the unions too.

This lively, scholarly study has important evidence on many aspects of union structure, government and politics: on the relationships between top professional union leaders and "lay" members of union executives and delegate bodies, on the role of personalities, on decision-making processes in unions and Party, and on the formal and informal relations of two allied social movements with a rich history, a muddled present, and troubled prospects.

VAL R. LORWIN
University of Oregon

BOOK NOTES

Occupational Planning for Women. By MARGUERITE WYKOFF ZAPOLEON. New York: Harper & Bros., 1961. xii, 276 pp. $5.00.

Addressed primarily to counselors and administrators concerned with occupational planning for women, this book presents a well-documented summary of the present position and prospects of women in the labor force and appraises operating guidance programs in diverse organizational contexts for various categories of women, including the gifted, aged, and handicapped. Mrs. Zapoleon, herself an experienced counselor and administrator, describes and evaluates guidance programs for women in secondary schools, colleges, specialized schools, employment agencies, industrial personnel departments, and women's organizations. She also clarifies the shifting roles with respect to vocational planning that have been assumed by various agencies of the federal and state governments.

MIRIAM M. JOHNSON
University of Oregon

Working with Groups: Group Process and Individual Growth. By WALTER M. LIFTON. New York and London: John Wiley & Sons, 1961. ix, 238 pp. $6.00.

This book, drawing on the author's experiences, is intended to provide a "clear statement of appropriate techniques" for group workers and counselors to use in working with groups which meet for therapeutic or educational purposes.

However, the description of tools and techniques is not specific enough to constitute a manual; instead, frequent lists, some drawn from other sources and some the author's own, are presented as shorthand "do's and don'ts" with no attempt to organize and integrate the lists so that the same concepts are used throughout. An annotated protocol of a group meeting is presented and examples of "typical" problems in group process are also given. Techniques are not justified by reference to any guiding theory of group process except that the author does believe in such things as: people must feel secure in the group before they can parti-

cipate freely and evaluate their own actions and feelings; members must be accepting and tolerant of others; nondirective leadership is best suited to the achievement of group goals; and people's perceptions of their situation must be understood before they can be helped.

A major difficulty with such books is that the author's experience, the judgments of other "experts," and the reports by members of groups are often no more than unreliable, unconfirmed, and possibly invalid personal impressions. The author does suggest that controlled studies are needed, but aside from a comment that "available research designs and tools are not truly adequate for the task to be done" (p. 170), does not come to grips with the problem of objectively evaluating the effects of his particular style of conducting groups compared with that of any other method. Measures for evaluating individual growth and change are self-reports and member ratings, but no data are presented based on such measures.

To the author's statement that "There is little doubt that many questions in the area of group process need investigation" (p. 174), we can only add, after reading this book, that the need is still great not only for systematic research but for better written descriptions of particular techniques and methods used by group workers.

George Psathas
Indiana University

Theories of Economic Growth. By Bert F. Hoselitz, Joseph J. Spengler, J. M. Letiche, Erskine McKinley, John Buttrick, and Henry J. Bruton. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960. 344 pp. $7.50.

Although the emphasis in this fairly well-integrated set of seven essays is heavily on the history and present status of economic growth and development theories, there are important signs, especially in the Hoselitz paper on "Theories of Stages of Economic Growth," of a growing *rapprochement* between certain branches of sociology and economics. Thus, such variables as population size and growth, occupational structure, and entrepreneurial attitudes appear frequently; Davis, Bendix, Moore, Parsons, Sorokin, and of course, Weber, are among the sociologists cited. Two shortcomings deserve mention in an otherwise commendable book: Asian and other non-European scholarship is neglected, and the primate city and dual economy concepts receive almost no attention (the work of Higgins is not mentioned at all). A subject index would also have been helpful.

Sociologists and economists alike should give one of Bruton's conclusions serious thought. "It must be recognized that in a long-period analysis the distinction between 'economic' and 'noneconomic' factors loses significance, and it becomes necessary to acknowledge that economic growth must be seen as a special aspect of general social evolution, rather than as a process which can be factored out of the social system and studied in isolation."

Arthur Jordan Field
University of Saskatchewan

The Human Implications of Work Study: The Case of Pakitt Ltd. By Stuart Dalziel and Lisl Klein. Foreword by Lewis T. Wright. England: Human Sciences Unit, Department of Scientific and Industrial Research, 1960. xiii, 81 pp. No price indicated, paper.

This monograph reports research dealing with problems which resulted from the introduction of "work study" in an English firm producing printed cartons. Work study refers here to analysis of production processes, use of time study and other work measurement procedures, and establishment of performance standards in the hope of increasing productivity.

The work study in this firm was conducted by an outside consulting agency. Largely because of failure in communication, the consultants, management, and the workers had differing expectations regarding what would be done in the work study and what the results would be. Consequently, the application of work study techniques in this firm did not succeed in achieving the results anticipated by any of these groups.

Data regarding the work study application were collected through interviews of from one to two hours duration with the consultants and people at all levels in the firm. The report of this research consists mainly of a detailed analysis of the work study procedures used and a discussion of the reasons for the failure of this particular program.

William A. Faunce
Michigan State University

Confidences d'Un Patron: Sur la Réforme de l'entreprise. By Alexandre Dubois. Paris: Économie et Humanisme, Les Éditions Ouvrières, 1960. 142 pp. 5,10 NF, paper.

The fundamental notion of this little book is that capital and labor ought to be treated on the same footing with respect to earnings. The enthusiastic cooperation of the labor force is to be secured by revenue-sharing, *not* profit-

sharing. Nevertheless, labor requires a minimum return for subsistence. Capital does not. In the end, it is difficult to see how this differs from any other plan of profit-sharing, except in the transcendental importance attached to it by the author, who introduced it into his steel mill in 1951. There is nothing here of specifically sociological interest, but there are some fascinating glimpses of French industrial relations.

THEODORE CAPLOW
Highlands Park, Illinois

The Struggle for Survival: Indian Cultures and the Protestant Ethic in British Columbia. By FORREST E. LAVIOLETTE. Forword by EVERETT C. HUGHES. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961. xii, 201 pp. $5.50.

This arrestingly titled little volume purports to treat the cultural adjustment of the Indians of British Columbia to the encroachments of white society. Its subtitle suggests that major attention will be given to the relation between Indian cultures and the Protestant ethic. Actually, the work is a history of selected manifestations of the impact of white culture on the Indians in question to the year 1951. The author confines himself almost exclusively to the potlatch controversy, the land title problem, and the struggle for Indian enfranchisement. In all this, it should be noted, the Protestant ethic is in effect simply defined as the dominant secular value of Canadian society. It is not treated as a distinct variable in its own right. Those expecting a penetrating sociological analysis of historical developments will be disappointed. The work is a rather wordy and carelessly written chronicle of events interspersed with a few interpretational asides.

BENTON JOHNSON
University of Oregon

Contemporary China: Economic and Social Studies, Documents—Chronology—Bibliography. Edited by E. STUART KIRBY. III, 1958–1959. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press; London, New York: Oxford University Press, 1960. xi, 439 pp. $6.00, paper.

Communist China, where one fifth of the world's population is controlled by a state more totalitarian than Stalin's Russia, is given far less attention in the West than it deserves. At both scholarly and popular levels, there is a marked paucity of accurate information and informed interpretation. *Contemporary China*, an irregular journal, of which this is the third volume to appear, is presumably designed to fill these needs. Professor Kirby is eminently qualified to direct such a project, and Hong Kong would seem to be the best place to collect information on Mainland China. But the volume is much too heterogeneous to be satisfactory to any of its potential readers. My comments are those of a social scientist interested in China but with no pretense to a specialist's knowledge.

From this point of view, much of the volume is useless: a 100-page bibliography of recent works, almost all in Chinese; a detailed chronicle of events in 1957–58. Among the articles, on the other hand, are some that would offer nothing to a sinologist and sometimes not much to a nonspecialist. Wittfogel's provocative and important thesis about Oriental despotism is summarized in ten pages. An article on China's population by S. Chandrasekhar, most of which had appeared earlier in his own journal, combines fascinating reportage with surprising naïveté ("one cannot question official statistics"). One on China's foreign trade by E. F. Szczepanik attempts, on the contrary, to guide the reader away from "the traps involved in the interpretation of Chinese statistics," but I did not find the results illuminating in this case. Three articles on the communes all seem —already—badly out of date. "The rapid enhancement of yield per acre of major crops in 1958 and 1959" (Chao Kuo-chün) we now know to have been a falsification, for the current disastrous famine began in those years. In this mixed bag one finds, in short, some sustenance but no delights.

WILLIAM PETERSEN
University of California, Berkeley

In the Company of Man: Twenty Portraits by Anthropologists. Edited by JOSEPH B. CASAGRANDE. New York: Harper & Bros., 1960. xvi, 540 pp. $6.50.

In the Company of Man is a collection of twenty non-technical accounts of native informants, most of which are somewhat personal, thereby giving the reader not only a glimpse into the primitive culture, but also into the researcher-informant relationship. In general, the anthropologists came to respect their informants, but the significant process displayed here is the cultivation of intellectual objectivity when the emotional relations were unpleasant as well as pleasant. Another purpose of the book, to present a panorama of Man, is successfully accomplished by the series of portraits of strategic persons. In particular, the behavior of human beings during acculturation is vividly conveyed, for all the informants were subject to acculturative pressure, often making viable adjustments, but sometimes (as in the case of the Eskimo hunter, Ohnainewk, and the Australian aborigine, Durmugam,) feeling a tragic

deterioration of their culture. The major weakness of the book is the noncomparability of subjects, treatments, and styles, which diminishes its usefulness in making systematic comparisons and generalizations.

ANNEMARIE SHIMONY
Mt. Holyoke College

The Problems of the British State. By MARIA HIRSZOWICZ. Sociological and Political Studies 7. Warsaw: Panstwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1960. 326 pp. zl 52.–, paper.

In addition to a review of studies on parliament, this Polish study contains a history of the British parliament and British political parties since the first third of the last century up to the present. The importance of the parliament has been declining while the cabinet and parties, whose disciplines has increased, have gained in influence.

In the final chapter the author analyzes "Sociological Problems of the Welfare State." The welfare state is characterized by three major tendencies: (1) a redistribution of a part of the national income; (2) a compulsory induction of a certain hierarchy of needs; (3) a development of a particular individual consumption. While admitting a considerable progress in the direction of social justice, Hirszowicz maintains that the welfare state did not succeed in solving the problem of man's alienation from products of his work.

Written from a milder Marxist viewpoint, the study was undertaken while the author was on a British Council fellowship in Britain.

JIRI KOLAJA
University of Kentucky

Baseball: The Early Years. By HAROLD SEYMOUR. New York: Oxford University Press, 1960. x, 373 pp. $7.50.

The near-sightedness of many, perhaps most, sociologists who publish studies about American society is evidenced by their neglect or casual treatment of one of our principal institutional and cultural complexes, sport. Skimpy treatment is encouraged by the scarcity of solid historical investigations. To such earlier general studies as those by Krout, Dulles, and Wecter now may be added this painstaking and ably presented history of baseball from its heretofore obscure origins as recreation for amateurs (in England, not Doubleday Field at the Cooperstown shrine) to the early years of this century when the professional game began to emerge as a highly bureaucratized big business. A second volume on baseball's subsequent massive growth is promised by the author.

Harold Seymour's credentials include a stint as batboy with the Brooklyn Dodgers, college player, coach, umpire, manager, and a Cornell Ph.D. in history (the present volume is an expansion of his dissertation). These experiences and his impressive knowledge of the game's history, however, do not prevent him from presenting a onesided and, I believe, misleading interpretation of professional baseball as *merely* a "commercialized amusement business," not a sport. To be sure, he discusses baseball as a "religion" for spectators, and in his well-documented account of its early history he *illustrates* the game's conspicuous combination of rational organization and charisma, the interplay of economic interest and craft artistry, professional sport as a changing channel of opportunity for members of disadvantaged groups, and, in some small measure, the entrance of baseball into America's "mass culture." These, of course, are not the author's guiding concepts: the work is historical, fulsomely anecdotal, and especially a case history in the rise of a duopoly. But this volume (and its sequel) is a rich source of information open to sociological exploitation. Those of us who are trying to develop a sociology of sport—and all serious students of modern society—are indebted to Professor Seymour.

CHARLES H. PAGE
Princeton University

Musik, Rundfunk und Hörer: Die soziologischen Aspekte der Musik am Rundfunk. By ALPHONS SILBERMANN. Köln und Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1959. 214 pp. DM 17,50, paper.

In the vast literature in Europe and the United States, this book represents one of the very few pieces of research dealing exclusively with music and radio. It had its origin in a research assignment to the author by the *Centre d'Études Radiophoniques* of the *Radiodiffusion-Télévision Française,* the results of which were published in France in 1954 and reviewed in these pages (Vol. 20, pp. 484–5). The present work is a recent translation, with enriched documentation from German and American sources and other additions, although the broad outline has been unchanged. It still remains a fundamentally theoretical, rather than a descriptive, work and therefore continues to enjoy general validity. Since the original French edition, however, television has made such inroads upon the radio, especially in the United States, that its one brief mention in the text may seem inadequate to the American reader. However, the German edition reaffirms (p. 145) the original research finding that visual trans-

mission of concert performance possesses relatively little cinematographic worth. This is the first title in a series on *Kunst und Kommunikation* projected by the publisher.

JOHN H. MUELLER
Indiania University

The Welsh in America: Letters from the Immigrants. Edited by ALAN CONWAY. Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 1961. 341 pp. $6.00.

Reminiscent of *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America,* this volume depicts the demographic patterns of Welsh immigration to the United States, the settlers' personal problems of accommodation, and the effects of immigrant letters on subsequent emigration from Wales. The Land of Promise is described in 197 letters written by immigrants to editors of Welsh periodicals. Each section of chronologically grouped letters is prefaced by the author's analysis.

Although few in number (90,000 emigrated from 1820 to 1950) and virtually ignored by students concerned with minority groups, the Welsh have contributed more than *eisteddfods,* leeks, and the surnames of Jones and Lewis to American culture. Conway suggests that their skills initially fostered the coal mining, iron and steel, and tin-plating industries in Pennsylvania and Ohio. In the 1860's, concern for equitable working conditions led the Welsh to form and join labor unions. Subsequently, they wielded great power in shaping labor-management policies in these industries.

Conway has written an invaluable chronicle about an elusive and overlooked minority group in the United States. However, one suspects that sociological readers may be perturbed by his failure to develop or adhere to any theories of cultural change or group interaction.

ROBIN F. BADGLEY
University of Saskatchewan

The Negro in France. By SHELBY T. MCCLOY. Lexington, Ky.: University of Kentucky Press, 1961. ix, 278 pp. $7.00.

Sociologists will be keenly interested in this ethnic work by a social historian. McCloy traces the development of the Negro in France and in selected colonies. A bold effort has been made to piece together with considerable ingenuity the social and political contributions of the Negro culture to France. Of course, the celebrated works of Alexander Dumas, and others, are evaluated in the light of history. We see the French Negro in contemporary politics, sports, entertainment, education, and other related social aspects. The substantial role of the Negro in the French military is presented in considerable detail. If morale toward a nation may be measured by the numbers volunteering for military service, the French have provided a way of life that excites patriotism on the part of an ethnic minority. Today some 40,000 Negroes reside in France, and a majority of them live in Paris. As urbanites, the French Negro enjoys a quasi-middle class status.

McCloy implies that the escalator of formal education has been available to the French Negro, and this institution may be one of the chief factors accounting for the rapid upward mobility of the Negro.

EDWARD C. MCDONAGH
University of Southern California

Aging in the State of Washington. By GOVERNOR'S COUNCIL ON AGING. Under the Sponsorship of The State Department of Public Assistance, GEORGE C. STARLUND, Director, and Governor's Designee for the White House Conference on Aging. Directed and Edited by WILLIAM S. HOPKINS with K. K. SHERWOOD, MARTHANNA VEBLEN, MARGARET WHYTE. Foreword by ALBERT ROSELLINI. Seattle, Wash.: University of Washington Press, 1961. viii, 391 pp. $6.00.

This book focuses on the now familiar problems of aging and presents a detailed inventory of federal, state, community, and private services available to the aged in the state of Washington. It includes a summary of the findings of a few not widely accessible surveys of older persons in Washington and also summarizes Department of Labor and some other studies carried out in the state.

Although the material presented is extensive in its way, analysis is almost nonexistent. Almost 200 of the 391 pages are filled by listings of agencies and organizations, their facilities, and a summary of their specific services to the aged. Each chapter devoted to particular problems and resources is introduced by an attempt to assess the relevant "needs" of older persons. The remaining pages include a brief one-chapter nod in the direction of demographic sources, an inventory of research in gerontology and geriatrics in the state, and a discussion of income and employment problems of older persons, drawing heavily on Department of Labor studies. A sociologist would have to be very hungry for information on aging and the aged to find in this volume enough meat to make a meal.

HERBERT L. COSTNER
University of Washington

The Crime Problem. By WALTER C. RECKLESS. Third Edition. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1961. xii, 648 pp. $6.75.

The revision of this popular text involves a number of significant changes from the previous edition. Possibly the most important modifications involve the recognition and attention given to crime consisting of a number of different behavior patterns, expanded sections dealing with contemporary views on causation and juvenile delinquency, and considerable revision of the section on treatment. The chapters dealing with prostitution, alcoholism, drug addiction, gambling, and vagrancy have been dropped.

Reckless gives considerable emphasis to the position that criminal behavior consists of a number of separate categories of behavior. Unfortunately, the book does little to indicate how criminal behavior can be best categorized into homogeneous types, nor is there any indication how the problem of etiological explanation of the separate types might be most profitably pursued. The presentation of etiological material in general, including Reckless' "Containment Theory," is deficient in rigor and theoretical sophistication.

In all, the new edition is somewhat stronger than the previous edition and should enjoy wide use.

DONALD L. GARRITY
San Francisco State College

The Manipulation of Human Behavior. Edited by ALBERT BIDERMAN and HERBERT ZIMMER. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1961, xii, 323 pp. $7.95.

The title of this volume is more encompassing and some might add more threatening than its scope and findings. As to scope, the book consists of a series of reviews of the literature relative to factors affecting resistance to influence attempts by an interrogator. These include the interrogation subject's physiological state; the effects of reduced environmental stimulation; the use of drugs, hypnosis, and physiological techniques of lie detection; as well as various interpersonal conditions affecting the influence process. A final chapter is concerned with the literature relevant to malingering as a form of countermanipulation. The findings suggest that many of the more esoteric forms of brainwashing are less effective than popularly supposed, either because they cannot be used on an unwilling subject, or because they yield information of doubtful validity.

Since the literature directly concerned with interrogation is rather meager, each contributor apparently has prepared a more general review, and since each is a prominent researcher on the topic he discusses, the volume constitutes an authoritative source. Sociologists in particular will find the chapter by Blake of value. Although it does not include some of the more recent research and theorizing by Festinger and his colleagues, it contains a fairly comprehensive review of the experimental evidence on interpersonal influence.

CARL W. BACKMAN
University of Nevada

The Psychoanalytic Study of Society, Vol. I. Edited by WARNER MUENSTERBERGER and SIDNEY AXELRAD. Founded as *Psychoanalysis and the Social Sciences (Vols. I–V)* by GÉZA RÓHEIM. New York: International Universities Press, 1960. 384 pp. $7.50.

According to the editors, this first volume of a new series adopted from *Psychoanalysis and the Social Sciences* is a response to "an increasing trend among social scientists to examine problems (in their fields) making use of the concepts and propositions of psychoanalysis." Nevertheless, M.D.'s still predominate among the contributors, and anthropology dominates the social science data used in the various contributions.

Major sections are "Social Adaptation," "Ethnopsychiatry," "Creativity," and "Religion." The disparity of these groupings provides little over-all integration. Foci range from a single case history to a cross-cultural survey.

For most social scientists, the contribution by Holmes would have appeal since it attempts systematically to meet general objections to the "modal personality" orientation. She attempts to relate "adult personality characteristics" (in contrast to Mead-Gorer emphasis on child-training practices) to something called "dominant value profile." She codes children's third grade readers to determine value profiles in a series of cultures—American, French, Irish, and German. She finds some association between story values and reports of behavior in these cultures, using story value profiles as "predictors" of ethnographic reports of behavior in the culture. One may seriously question the methodology, such as using modal patterns based on random secondary sources. Yet the approach holds promise even if the present study is somewhat flimsy.

For those with special interests, the two articles on monotheism by Zeligs and Peto are well done in the Freudian mold. One would hope that future volumes can include greater representation of the other social sciences, particularly sociology and economics.

JACK J. PREISS
Duke University

L'Investigation Scientifique des Faits D'Activité Humaine: Avec Application aux Sciences et aux Techniques Sociales. By GEORGES HOSTELET. Preface by ARMAND CUVILLIER. Petite Bibliotèque Sociologique Internationale. Série A: Auteurs Contemporains. Paris: Librairie Marcel Rivière et Cie, 1960. xvi, 288 and 268 pp. Two volumes 18 NF, paper.

This book is a compilation of lectures delivered at the Institut des Hautes Études in Brussels in 1944–45. Its goal is to clarify the rules of sociological method. Its procedure is to state a series of premises and definitions and develop a logical argument on the grounds of them.

There are no examples from current sociological research, no analytic treatments of concepts essential to analyzing social forms or processes. Absent from the index are terms one might reasonably look for in a two-volume publication on methodology (e.g., case study, comparative method, concept formation, control group, data, experiment, generalization, inference, informant, interview, life history, measurement, research design, reliability, testing, validity). The work, therefore, is of academic interest, but contains little that is immediately relevant to the sociologist concerned with methodology.

ROSE GOLDSEN

Cornell University

Ursprünge und Grundlagen der Soziologie bei Adam Ferguson. By HERTA HELENA JOGLAND. Berlin: Dunker & Humblot, 1959. 175 pp. DM 18,60, paper.

This is the first volume in a new series devoted to the history of the social sciences. Its principal editor (Friedrich Bülow) and the publisher both have a long record of achievement in this field. Major libraries may be well advised to subscribe to such a series of monographs which should arouse interest not only in sociological circles but also in related disciplines.

In the work under review, Jogland examines the sociologically relevant thought of Adam Ferguson by placing it in its contemporary context of ideas. Here we discover the beginning of an approach that we have come to call the sociology of knowledge. But Ferguson knew facts when he saw them. Distrusting the remote historical accounts that were a favorite source of the social theorizing of many of his contemporaries, he stressed functional analysis throughout his work. However, in doing so, he did not neglect intellectual and moral factors in favor of economic and social factors.

The most interesting, and perhaps the best, chapter deals with Ferguson's analysis of human nature, a task in which he proceeded quite empirically. Using a method that can be said to be part eighteenth-century empiricism and part nineteenth-century positivism, Ferguson attempted to understand man through society and its functions.

This is the only suitable treatment of Adam Ferguson since William C. Lehmann's slim book in 1930 on *Adam Ferguson and the Beginnings of Modern Sociology.* Unfortunately, it is a heavily and pedantically documented monograph with almost eight pages of bibliography. Whoever takes the time to read through it will, at least in some areas, be cured of what Sorokin terms the discoverer's complex of the contemporary social psychologist.

HELMUT SCHOECK

Emory University

Essentials of Family Living. By RUTH M. HOEFLIN. New York, London: John Wiley & Sons, 1960. viii, 282 pp. $5.75.

Hoeflin has added another text to the two dozen now available for use in college-level functional courses on marriage and the family. Her volume is the outgrowth of topics which lower division students indicated they desired to discuss in a course that Hoeflin has taught for over a decade in two large state university departments of home economics.

The text focuses on the understanding of oneself as a marriageable adult. It traces the process of child and family development throughout the respective life cycles. However, three of the fourteen chapters are devoted to the traditional topics of dating problems and early marital adjustment, and the final chapter, to the sociological functions of the modern family.

Pedagogically, it centers about the teachable moment idea—that is, capitalizing on current student interest in a topic—but fails to give the student a real opportunity to cope with basic decisions that a married couple face as a couple when they carry out day-to-day living after the marriage has been consummated.

Considerable reference is made to some of the central empirical studies in the text itself. However, most of the suggested references for further reading are to other texts designed for use in courses on child development and family relations, although some reference is made to standard sociologically oriented texts designed for institutional, rather than functionally oriented, courses on the family.

Most of the questions at the end of the chapters deal with the "what" and to some extent the "how" of the topics suggested for

further study, but "why" type questions are at a premium.

This volume appears to be most useful for freshmen courses designed to deal with understanding oneself as a person—in this case, as a potentially marriageable female.

THEODORE B. JOHANNIS, JR.
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Miami Metro: The Road to Urban Unity. By REINHOLD P. WOLFF. Area Development Series, No. 9. Coral Gables, Fla.: Bureau of Business and Economic Research, University of Miami, 1960. x, 203 pp. $4.50, paper (Hard back, $6.00).

Dade County, Florida (the Miami metropolitan area) is the *only* example of a metropolitan government in the United States. It has been seen by some as a harbinger of things to come; others see its solitary splendour as indicative of the immense resistance to a sensible step in the organization of our urban communities. Professor Wolff deals with the Miami metropolitan area as both a specimen of a general class and as a singular community. Through a case study of the development of "Metro," he tries to partial these two aspects of the metropolis and at least estimate the generality of the Miami development.

In brief, his thesis runs as follows: (1) American regional economies, as they become largely self-sufficient, are also becoming more *locally* dependent; (2) this produces an economy whose community is its major market—as he calls it, an "inward-directed economy"; (3) the local community is, thus, the frame for supplies, inner order, and the market, to most of its enterprises; (4) therefore, business must concern itself increasingly with the housekeeping affairs of the metropolis—must, in fact, move back towards a *political economy,* and away from the assumptions of *laisser faire.*

Professor Wolff's case is largely *post hoc* interpretation. He does not present the controlled observations which would allow us to estimate his accuracy: we do not know from his data who the leaders of the movement for reform were, nor what they thought, nor why. (Although he cites studies by Beiler and others at Miami University, these data are not available for inspection.)

Yet the work is stimulating, shrewd, and potentially significant. Miami may well be so deviant that it is a poor case for general theory building. On the other hand, Miami may simply be the extreme which illuminates the direction of development in American urban agglomerations. To the degree that the latter interpretation holds, Professor Wolff's reading of the entrails from this goose may be an augury with considerable implications.

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